

Mort

DISSERTATIONS

UPON THE

ÆNEIDS OF VIRGIL,

DISSEMINATIONS



AND OF VIRGIL

1828
DISSERTATIONS

AND

CRITICAL REMARKS

UPON THE

ÆNEIDS OF VIRGIL.

CONTAINING,

AMONG OTHER INTERESTING PARTICULARS,

A full Vindication of the POET

FROM THE

CHARGE OF AN ANACHRONISM

WITH REGARD TO THE

FOUNDATION OF CARTHAGE.

By the late JOHN MARTYN, F. R. S.

EDITOR OF VIRGIL'S GEORGICKS AND
BUCOLICKS.

To the whole is prefixed, some Account of the
AUTHOR and his WRITINGS.

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Jos. Banks

T O

DANIEL CRESPIN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

LET the few who have gratitude enough to remember past favors, and the many who entertain expectations of future ones; bow the knee before the throne of greatness. He who has neither obligations nor desires, may make his offering at the shrine of friendship.

To you, Sir, I appeal for the truth of those facts which I have related. This circumstance, together with the reciprocal affection which long subsisted between you and the author of the following dissertations, has rendered it peculiarly proper for me to inscribe the following work with your name.

You, Sir, who have not merely trod on classic ground, but for many years have
breathed

breathed classic air, will gladly accept these attempts to vindicate and illustrate one of the finest authors of antiquity. Had diseases and infirmities spared our friend a few years longer, these Essays would have risen into a complete edition of Virgil. However, imperfect as they are, you will peruse them with pleasure; and the public, it may be presumed, will not disdain to receive illustrations of the *Æneids*, from the same pen which first made the *Georgicks* of Virgil well understood.

I have only to wish you a better share of health than you have lately enjoyed; to thank you for the continuance of that friendship to the Editor, which subsisted between you and the Author; and to assure you, that I am, most sincerely,

Your affectionate

And obliged humble Servant,

THOMAS MARTYN.

Cambridge, Jan. 1, 1770.

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THE P R E F A C E.

THE lives and actions of illustrious warriors and statesmen have ever been esteemed worthy the attention of the public: but this age has been the first to enter the more private walks of life, to contemplate merit in the shades, and to admire the more silent virtues. Dazzled with the glare of military talents, or caught in the intricacies of state politics; the world seldom condescended to look upon literary accomplishments even of the highest order; but wholly disdained the study of common life, and those characters which it would be of the most general use to be acquainted with, because they lie most open to imitation.

To read of kings, generals, and statesmen; of wars, battles, and the intrigues of politics; is delightful to the bulk of mankind, for the same reason that romances were once so bewitching: because they are above their level, and therefore answer the same purposes with

giants and enchanted castles. We should perhaps be thought solicitous to make amends for our own want of learning and virtue, by bringing to light and transmitting to posterity the moral and literary merit of others; were it not that there is at least as great a fondness for lowering exalted characters as there is for raising obscure ones.

The greatest and the best of men have their blemishes and failings: whether it is for the benefit of society to scrutinize too nicely into these may well be doubted; to expose the inmost recesses of the closet to the rude eye of the public, especially when it is done with ill-nature, is not to be justified, let the writers of anecdote plume themselves upon it as much as they will. Truth is sacred, but it is not necessary that every insignificant truth should be proclaimed with sound of trumpet to the whole world.

When the life of a private man hath been exemplary and virtuous, a history of that life may be of use to excite others to follow his example: when a man hath been conspicuous for literary merit, and connected with persons of learning; an account of his life will be a history of learning itself, or at least of the state and progress of it in his age.

P R E F A C E. iii

If these general reflections will not serve to justify the following pages; the public must forgive them as a tribute which a son thought due to the memory of a beloved father.

John Martyn was born in Queen-street within the City of London, very near the close of the last century (*a*). It was a subject of frequent exultation with him, that providence had thrown him into a country, and produced him at a period, so fertile in genius and literary accomplishments. It was the golden age of learning in Britain (*b*), and to converse with those heroes who adorn it, was no mean advantage or glory to one who knew how to value it. To apply to the strength of mind of these men, the sentiment of Homer (*c*) concerning those who lived in the heroic times, might be thought the prejudice of old age, if it were not that their writings abundantly testify the truth of the observation.

Scarce was he a twelvemonth old ere he lost in
a 2 his

(*a*) September 12, 1699, at two in the morning.

(*b*) See an essay on the genius and writings of Pope, p. 186.

(*c*) Iliad V.

his mother the guardian of his tender years (a). His father (b) proposing to breed him up to the profession of a merchant, which was his own; sent him in due time to a private school in the neighbourhood. Here by his own industry, rather than by any advantages of instruction, he had made a very good proficiency in school learning, when he was taken from his beloved books, to engage in the business of a compting-house (c). In this occupation most young lads of his age would have found their minds sufficiently employed: but he, insatiate of knowledge, after the labours of the day were over, stole most of those hours which are usually given up to rest, and dedicated them to the improvement of his understanding; for several years seldom taking more in a night than four hours sleep.

Mr. Martyn, with good solid parts and unwearied industry, was however no miracle of genius, he did not begin with Vaillant at five years of age to be acquainted with Botany.

His

(a) November 1, 1700. Her name was Katharine Weedon; she was married only May the 9th, 1698.

(b) See Appendix, No. II.

(c) November 30, 1715.

P R E F A C E.

His propensity however to this science, which was ever his favourite, appeared early, namely in the summer of the year 1718 (a). It was first excited by an acquaintance with Mr. Wilmer, who became afterwards the reader in the botanic garden at Chelsea (b). These sparks thus kindled, were quickly blown up, by an intimacy contracted the following year with Dr. Blair (c), and roused into flame by the countenance of the excellent and illustrious Sherard (d). He always acknowledged the first of these for his preceptor in botany, and reckoned his knowledge of the latter among the prime felicities of his life.

Desirous from the first of communicating to mankind the fruit of his studies (e), he could

a 3

not

(a) June 30.

(b) He was an apothecary in London, and afterwards practised physic at Chelsea, from whence he retired to Westminster, where he died in January 1769.

(c) August 1719. See appen. No. III.

(d) November 3, 1719. See app. No. IV.

(e) It is a good maxim (he used to say) whatsoever Persius might think of it.

“Scire tuum, nihil est; nisi te scire hoc sciat

“alter.”

1720
4571

not be long ere he designed something for the public eye; accordingly with the opening of the year 1720 (*a*), he began a translation of Mr. Tournefort's excellent history of the plants about Paris, which he finished entirely in the month of August following (*b*). Already ambitious of rivalling this eminent French botanist, he projected the same year (*c*) a catalogue of the plants about London, in which he made a very considerable progress; but the world was deprived of this work through the envy and jealousy of some who preferred their own to the public advantage. The publication of M. Tournefort's history was also deferred on account of the expected new edition by Vaillant, till the year 1732. When it came out under the title of "Tournefort's history of plants growing about Paris: with their uses in physic: and a mechanical account of the operation of medicines. Translated into English with many additions. And accommodated to the plants growing in Great Britain. In two volumes. London. 1732. octavo."—It is dedicated to Lord Petre.—The translator reduced Tournefort's
fix

(*a*) January the 11th.

(*b*) August the 20th.

(*c*) March.

fix alphabets into one; extracted all the useful observations both from the edition which came out by the united care of Sherard and Boerhaave; and from that which was published by Mr. Bernard de Jessu. He added also the English names, and the places where the plants grow in England. He disposed the Mosses according to Dr. Dillenius's method; and the Mushrooms and Capillaries after a new method of his own. This year he began his botanical excursions which he continued for a long time after with unwearied diligence, not satisfied till he had collected together almost all the known plants of his native country; his *hortus siccus* containing near 1400 specimens, and now preserved by me as a sacred memorial of his industry, is a sufficient testimony of it. Indeed the great love which he possessed for his native soil, and the strong conviction which was ever upon his mind, that observations made upon plants in their natural places of growth were the least liable to error, made him always pay the greatest attention to the natural productions of these kingdoms. It will be scarce credible in this age of ease and luxury that almost all these excursions, some of them very extensive, were performed on foot. Nor did he confine him-

self wholly to the contemplation of vegetables: the numerous insect tribe began now to attract a share of his attention. And when business, weather, or the season kept him at home; he corresponded diligently with his friends on these subjects, and sowed numberless plants in order to attend to the difference of their seed leaves (*a*).

1721 The next year he framed an introduction to the knowledge of vegetables, which he afterwards printed in 1729, and was busied in making a complete collection of the fruits of all plants. He also became acquainted with the celebrated Dillenius (*b*), in conjunction with whom and several others, he instituted a meeting of botanists in London; under the name of the Botanical Society. They held their meetings at first at the Rainbow Coffee-house in Watling-street, but afterwards in a private house, every Saturday at six in the evening; and in the year following formed themselves into a more regular body with a president, secretary, and a body of laws: Dr. Dillenius was their first president, and Mr. Martyn their first

(*a*) See Appendix, No. IX. 1, 2.

(*b*) See Appendix, No. V.

first secretary (*a*). The society kept together till the end of the year 1726. Every member in his turn was obliged to exhibit a certain number of plants to the company, to make observations upon their characters, and to set forth their various uses.

This year Mr. Martyn read before them a course of lectures upon the technical words of the science, which were probably the foundation of what he afterwards published upon that subject.

This and the following year his excursions in search of plants became more frequent, in the neighbourhood of London, and all the adjoining counties of Middlesex, Surry, Essex and Kent.

In the summer of 1723, he pursued the study of insects with more ardour: he entertained

(*a*) The other members were Samuel Horfman, M.D. T. Richmond. Vincent Bacon, F.R.S. a surgeon. J. Chandler. John Wilmer, beforementioned. Robert Fysher, M.B. Samuel Latham. Thomas Dale, M.D. Philip Miller, the since celebrated gardener at the botanic garden in Chelsea. Joseph Forfitt. J. Letherland, M.D. Charles Deering, M.D. Walter Tullideph. Joseph Harris. John Payne, apothecary in London. See Appendix, No. VI.

tained thoughts of dissecting a variety of animals, in order to observe their characteristic differences with accuracy, and to enter upon the study of comparative anatomy: he laboured much at his designed Natural History of the environs of London: he still attended much to the seed-leaves of plants; upon which he had now conceived a design of forming a natural system (a): and he made many observations upon the sexes of plants, a subject at that time little understood, though it was well established a few years after by the celebrated Linnæus. At the beginning of this year his life was endangered by an inflammatory fever. He had an offer of being introduced into the Royal Society, but modestly declined it.

The following year 1724, besides the repetition of his home circuits, in the months of June and July, he travelled by Bath and Bristol into Wales, returning by Hereford, Worcester and Oxford to London. This journey furnished him with a great variety of new plants such as are not to be found in the neighbourhood of London. Amidst his excursions however he did not forget to extend his observations on seed-leaves, and on the sexes of vegetables.

He

(a) See Appendix, No. IX. 1, 2.

He was now so far advanced in his favourite pursuit, that he ventured to instruct others, by giving a course of lectures in botany at London (a). He also gave an explanation of the technical words used in that science to Mr. Nathan Bailey in order to be inserted in the dictionary which he was then about to publish. He continued his excursions in search of plants; and was much busied in forming with the assistance of Dr. Blair a collection of birds, in order to make observations and improvements in that branch of natural history.

In the succeeding year 1726, he read a second course of lectures in botany at London; and was recommended by Dr. Sherard and Sir Hans Sloane as a proper person to execute the same office in the university of Cambridge. Accordingly the next year, in the anatomy schools, he gave the first course that ever had been read there in that science, with a view to restore this study on the spot which should seem most adapted to its growth, as having nourished the most eminent of all our English naturalists the excellent Mr. Ray (b).

The

(a) See the preface to Dr. Blair's 4th Decad of his *Pharmaco-Botanologia*.

(b) See Appendix, No. VII.

The year 1726 first showed Mr. Martyn to the world as an author; it was then that he published his tables of officinal plants under the title of *Tabulæ Synopticæ Plantarum Officinalium ad Methodum Raianam dispositæ*. Lond. folio, 20 pages: Dedicated to Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. Twice in the course of this year he visited the isle of Shepey, so well known among naturalists for its curious productions both vegetable and fossil.

March 30, 1727. He was admitted a member of the Royal Society. His modesty prevented his more early admission (*a*); but there was one circumstance on which he used to congratulate himself—that he was proposed though the last under the presidentship of the illustrious Newton (*b*). As he was unwilling to be admitted of this learned body whilst he deemed himself unworthy of that honour; so after he was admitted he thought himself under an obligation to be as serviceable to it as possible. Accordingly he was often put upon committees for various purposes; particularly in the year 1729 upon one for inspecting, and regulating the library and museum,

(*a*) See Appendix, No. IX. 3.

(*b*) Sir Isaac died March the 20th; therefore before his admission.

seum, in, which he took the lead, and drew up the report in 1731. For these services he received the thanks of the society and had his bond for the annual payment of fifty-two shillings cancelled by an order of council, as an acknowledgement of his merits. He also enriched the Philosophical Transactions with many valuable papers.—As

1. Observations on the Peak in Derbyshire, with an account of some rare plants found there, and in the journey thither, No. 407.

2. Statical experiments on the effects of warm bathing, No. 407.

3. A translation of Mr. Garcin's account of a new family of plants called *Oxyoides*, with a remark by the translator, No. 415.

4. A translation of M. Garcin's remarks on the family of plants named *Musa*, No. 415.

5. A translation of M. Garcin's account of the *Hirudinella Marina* or Sea Leech, No. 415.

6. An account of an Aurora Australis seen March 18, 1738-9, at Chelsea, No. 461. This was the first account which had been ever given of this phenomenon.

7. An account of a new purging spring discovered at Dulwich in Surry, No. 461.

8. An

8. An account of an Aurora Borealis seen at Chelsea, Feb. 16, 1749-50. No. 494.

9. An account of an Aurora Australis seen at Chelsea, Jan. 23, 1749-50. No. 494.

10. An account of an earthquake felt at London, Feb. 8, 1749-50. No. 497.

11. Account of another felt, March 8, No. 497.

12. An account of a new species of Fungus, No. 475.

13. A remark concerning the sex of Holly, vol. 48. part 2.—A new discovery.

This year he published for the use of his pupils at Cambridge—*Methodus Plantarum circa Cantabrigiam nascentium*, London. 12mo. 132 pages, besides the preface. It is Mr. Ray's alphabetical catalogue reduced to the order of his system, with excellent generic characters taken from Mr. Ray's *Methodus emendata et aucta*, Vaillant, Dillenius, Scheuchzer and others, much improved and corrected by his own observations. About two years after he designed a second edition, much improved and enlarged; containing also about 150 plants more than Mr. Ray had found in the country. A sheet and half of this was printed, but it was never carried any further. This contains the submarine plants, Funguses, Mosses,

Mosses, Cappillaries, Apetalous, and Jeliferous plants, to the number of 154, most of them not to be found in Mr. Ray's catalogue.

The following year 1728 he was busied in settling the natural classes of plants; a subject on which he bestowed much pains and attention.

He followed Mr. Ray in the distribution of his classes; he differed however from him in some things, particularly in uniting the trees and herbs; and certainly much improved the system of our learned countryman.

He now published the first Decad of rare plants under the title of *Historia Plantarum Rariarum*. Lond. fol. imp.—Dedicated to the president, council, and fellows of the Royal Society. The design of this sumptuous work was to figure such curious plants as had never been figured before, of their natural size, and in their proper colours; to give descriptions of them, and to add their culture and use; the paintings were executed by *Van Huysum*, and the engravings, by *Kirkall*; they are mezzotinto, and printed in their proper colours. Four Decads more were published between this time and 1737, when the fifth and last came out; each of them as the name implies containing ten plants. The work stopped here on
account

account of the immense expence attending the plates. John Daniel Meyer a painter at Nuremberg, republished the first Decad in 1752. At this time he applied himself sedulously to the practise of physic.

In the year 1729 he entertained a design of reading a course of Lectures in botany at Oxford; but for what reason I know not, it proved abortive. This winter he hoped to finish his catalogue of the plants about London, which has been mentioned before: and he published "the first lecture of a course of "botany; being an introduction to the rest." London, octavo. Dedicated to Dr. Christopher Green, regius professor of physic in the university of Cambridge. It contains 24 pages, and 14 plates; and is an explanation of the technical terms made use of in botany. This year he also published his second Decad of rare plants.

The year following he was engaged in conjunction with Dr. *Russel*, in a design of republishing *Roberti Stephani Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*; but whether the proposal did not meet with due encouragement, or for what other reason is uncertain, the design was dropped. He was also concerned with the same learned gentleman and others, in a weekly paper entitled

The Grub-street Journal, the principal intention of which was to ridicule bad authors and their works. Mr. Martyn writ the introductory paper under the title of *Bavius*, which was the character he preserved throughout this work, to which the greatest wits of the time did not disdain sometimes to contribute. The best papers were afterwards selected and printed in two volumes twelves, in the year 1737, under the title of—*Memoirs of the society of Grub-street*. The papers which were writ by Mr. Martyn are distinguished by the signature B. Dr. *Ruffel* took the title of *Mævius*, and his papers are signed M. The *Grub-street Journal* had a large sale, and was kept up till the end of the year 1737. There was an attempt made to revive it, at the beginning of the year following, under the title of *The Literary Courier of Grub-street*; but, as it was soon dropped, probably without much success.

May the 26th he was admitted of Emmanuel college in Cambridge, and kept five terms with an intention to have proceeded regularly with the degrees in physic; but marriage and the necessity of attending to his profession prevented him from finishing his design. He read a course of lectures this year both in
b botany

botany and the *Materia Medica* in the university; on the latter also at London: the pursuit of this study led him to a more intimate acquaintance with chemistry; in which he was now much engaged in making experiments.

His friend Mr. *Houftoun* being now travelling in South America and the islands of the West Indies in search of plants, gave the name of *Martynia* to an elegant new discovered genus (a).

He was this year an unsuccessful candidate for the post of secretary to the Royal Society, now vacant by the death of Dr. Rutton (b). His opponent Dr. Mortimer was related to the president; and the interest of Sir Hans Sloane united with the whole power of the court was too prevalent for the literary part of the society. Mr. Martyn was peculiarly fitted for this post, by his extensive learning, and his acquaintance with the modern languages: but the countenance and support of Halley, Jurin, and the rest of those who were the great ornaments of this society made him full amends for his ill success.

He

(a) See Appendix, No. IX. 5.

(b) See Appendix, No. IX. 4.

He had now lived and practised physic in Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street, during three years; but at the close of this year finding the air of London disagree with his constitution on account of an asthmatic complaint with which he was troubled, he embraced a favourable opportunity which now offered of removing to Chel ey; where from this time he practised physic with tolerable success and great reputation for above twenty years: till increasing infirmities forced him into retirement.

In the year 1731 he entertained sanguine hopes that a botanic garden would have been founded at Cambridge by Mr. *Brownell* of Willingham, a gentleman possessed of a handsome fortune and a great lover of the science. But though there passed many conferences upon the subject between him, and the vice-chancellor, Dr. Mawson, then master of Bennet college, and now bishop of Ely, and Dr. Savage the master of Emmanuel college, though the ground was actually pitched upon, and Mr. Miller was called in, to deliver his opinion concerning the most proper manner of carrying the design into execution; yet it dropped, and Mr. Brownell's estate was diverted into another channel. He did not forget this year to contribute his endeavours to promote the

cause of learning: he was much busied in forming generical tables of plants; published his third Decad of rare plants; and was engaged in putting together Churchill's collection of voyages and travels.

These were quickly followed the succeeding year by his long since finished work, the translation of Tournefort's history of the plants growing about Paris. He also published proposals for printing an edition of Virgil's Georgicks, and entered into articles for abridging the Philosophical Transactions from 1720 to that time in conjunction with Mr. *John Eames*. This was a continuation of the five volumes which had been published by *Lowthorp* and *Jones*, and came out in two volumes (6th and 7th) in the year 1734. The truth was, the booksellers had engaged Mr. *Eames* to make this abridgement; and soon after another set put *Read* and *Gray* upon the same work. *Eames* proceeded so slowly, that it was probable the latter would get the start; they therefore engaged Mr. *Martyn*, who whilst *Eames* abridged three chapters, finished all the rest. August the 20th he married *Eulalia* (a), youngest daughter of John King, D. D. rector of

(a) She was born at Chelsea, July 22 1703.

of Chelsea and prebendary of York (*a*); by whom he had three sons and five daughters; four of the latter died young, the other children survived him.

At the close of this year he became a candidate for the professorship of botany, now vacant by the death of Mr. Bradley. Though he had now given several courses of lectures, had restored the study of botany in the university, and was the only person who could be called a master of the science, yet he was not the only candidate. The principal objection to Mr. Martyn was, that he was a Nonjuror, no man was ever a better subject; however to take off this aspersión, on the 12th of December he took the oaths to the King, and all opposition falling at length before his superior merit; he was chosen professor of botany by the unanimous voice of the university, on the 8th of February following (*b*). This and the former year he was engaged in the General Dictionary, in which work however he was concerned no farther than the three first volumes (*c*).

b 3

The

(*a*) See Appendix, No. VIII.

(*b*) See Appendix, No. IX. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

(*c*) I cannot say precisely what lives were writ by him, those of *Abdolonymus*, *Archimedes*, *Bellonius Boccone*, and *Otho Brunfelsius* I know were.

The two succeeding years he was employed in the same work. And in the latter, he read his last course of lectures in botany at Cambridge; labouring under great disadvantages for want of a botanic garden, and not finding sufficient encouragement to warrant so long a neglect of his practice as the course must necessarily occasion.

In 1737 he published his last Decad of rare plants, and entered into correspondence with *Linneus*, since the so much celebrated professor of botany at Upsal in Sweden.

In 1740 he published a translation of Boerhaave's treatise on the powers of medicines (a). And in 1741 his fine edition of Virgil's Georgicks, with an English translation and notes, dedicated to the famous Dr. Mead (b). Mr.
Martyn

(a) " A treatise on the powers of medicines
" by the late learned Herman Boerhaave, doctor
" of philosophy and physick, and professor of
" physick, botany, and chemistry in the uni-
" versity of Leyden. Translated from the
" most correct Latin edition, by John Martyn,
" fellow of the Royal Society, and professor
" of botany in the university of Cambridge."
London 1740, octavo.

(b) See Appendix, No. IX. 11.

Martyn was fond (perhaps to a degree of enthusiasm) of the ancients, particularly of their poets : but this poem was ever his favourite, and the general bent of his studies led him to understand many parts of it better than most men in Europe. The astronomical part with which he modestly professed to be least acquainted " had the good fortune (as he expresses it) to be perused by the greatest astronomer of this, or perhaps of any age ; the enjoyment of whose acquaintance and friendship I shall always esteem as one of the happiest circumstances of my life (a)." This was no less a person than the celebrated *Halley*, whose learning he always venerated. However notwithstanding his knowledge on this subject appeared to himself nothing, because he had been accustomed to consider it along with that of his learned friend ; yet he paid a just veneration to the study, and was by no means unacquainted with the writings of the immortal Newton. At first he intended that his notes should have been in Latin, to render them of more extensive use, but though he had made a considerable progress, as the manuscript which still remains may serve to testify ; yet

b 4

at

(a) Preface to his edition of the *Georgicks*.

at length the natural bias for his native country (which was ever very strong in him) prevailed, and he was content to sacrifice a more extensive reputation to that laudable passion: he has however since been rewarded for this sacrifice, his edition of this famous work being well known and much respected in most parts of Europe.

The latter end of this year he set about the translation and abridgement of “ the philosophical history and memoirs of the royal academy of sciences at Paris: or an abridgement of all the papers relating to natural philosophy, which have been published by the members of that illustrious society. Illustrated with copper-plates. The whole translated and abridged by John Martyn, F.R.S. professor of botany in the university of Cambridge; and Ephraim Chambers, F.R.S. author of the Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences (a)” London 1742, octavo 5 volumes.

And the year following published a translation of Dr. Harris’s Treatise on the Acute Diseases of Infants (b).

When

(a) See Appendix, No. IX. 12.

(b) “ A treatise of the Acute Diseases of Infants. To which are added, Medical Observations

When the year 1743 was drawing towards a conclusion, he agreed to continue the abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions down to that time; and accordingly the 8th and 9th volumes were published in the year 1747. As was afterwards the 10th in 1756. This volume brings the transactions down to 1750, and the end of the 46th volume. When *Cromwell Mortimer* the secretary died, and the Royal Society took the publication of their papers into their own hands.

In 1749 he finished and printed his translation and notes upon the *Bucolicks* of Virgil: and immediately went on with the work, designing to complete the edition of this favourite poet. But growing infirmities too soon stopped his hand, and prevented him from accomplishing much more than what will be seen in the following pages.

Now

“servations on several grievous diseases. Written originally in Latin, by the late learned Walter Harris, M. D. fellow of the College of Physicians at London, and professor of Chirurgery in the same college. Translated into English by John Martyn, F. R. S. professor of botany in the university of Cambridge.” London 1742, octavo.

Now too he lost his bosom friend, by a cancer in her breast, occasioned by a violent blow given her as she was walking in London; and having lived with her almost twenty years with the most unremitted affection, it is no wonder if he suffered severely by the loss.

In July 1750 he married Mary Anne, daughter of Claude Fonnereau, Esq; of London, merchant; who bore him one son and survived him.

Soon after this in the spring of the year 1752, he retired from practice and the world to a delightful farm, situated on a hill remarkable for its rich and extensive prospects in the parish of Streatham in Surry; here for the remainder of his life he enjoyed the sweets of rural retirement, as far as frequent attacks of the gout in his head and stomach would permit, and rejoiced to close his days with the practice of that art which his favourite poet had sung so well, and of which the Roman orator says—"si non est sapientia, est proxima tamen sapientiæ."

January 30, 1761, he resigned his professorship of botany; and some time after, in gratitude for the favour done him in choosing him, and his son after him into this post, he presented to the university, which he had ever loved

loved with an affection truly filial, his library of botanical books amounting to above 200 volumes, his *hortus ficcus* of foreign plants containing upwards of 2600 specimens, near 250 curious drawings of *Fungi*, his collection of seeds and seed vessels, and his *Materia Medica* (a).

June 29, 1765. It was decreed by the senate of the university, that thanks should be given to Mr. Martyn by the Vice-Chancellor for this present: and accordingly Dr. Barnardiston, master of Bennet college being then in that office, writ him a handsome letter upon the occasion.

About a year however before his death infirmities arising from repeated shocks of his distemper, were so much increased, that he could no longer enjoy the delights of his farm; he removed therefore once more to his house at Chelsea, and by the most gradual decay paid his last debt to nature on the 29th of January 1768, at 5 in the morning. He was buried on February the 4th in the burying ground belonging to that parish, in the same grave with his wife and three of his children.

Mr. *Martyn* was religious without bigotry, devout without superstition, charitable without ostentation

(a) See Appendix, No. IX. 13.

ostentation. His religion was not founded on the prejudices of education, nor adopted without choice, nor framed in the retirement of the cloister. His life had been active; he had conversed with men of all parties and persuasions with equal familiarity; and had contracted friendships with good men of very different opinions both in civil and religious matters; he had read whatever the fashionable writers had published against revealed religion from Lord Herbert to Lord Bolingbroke: and after all, rested fully assured of the divine original of Christianity. He had ever been a faithful son of the church of England; and after having made ecclesiastical polity, and in the wane of life primitive christianity his peculiar study; he found no cause to alter the favourable opinions which he had entertained of the establishment. His friendships were sincere and ardent, and being founded on the connections not of interest, but of affection and virtue, were carried on with pleasure and crowned with permanency. He had conversed much with the world at large, sometimes with men more to be respected for the greatness of their talents than beloved for the quality of the heart. But he retired to the tranquil pleasures of a domestic life, and the quiet enjoyment of a small circle of friends

un-

untinctured with any of the vices of that world in which he had lived chearfully without adoring it, and which he quitted without morosely contemning it. His benevolence was that of a christian, diffusive and unconfined, but it was most conspicuous in an unremitted attendance upon the maladies of the poor. He was always willing to make considerable sacrifices at the shrine of peace, and often congratulated himself that he had never been obliged to appear in any of the courts of law, either as principal or evidence during the whole course of his life. The warmth of affection which he bore his wives, and the truly parental love which he showed without distinction towards his children, are too much founded in nature to be mentioned as distinguishing parts of his character; but his regard for that government from which he never reaped or expected any advantage besides its protection, and that glow of patriotism which warmed his heart, and was founded not on interest but affection, deserve to be mentioned at a time when the one is rudely trampled upon by the undiscerning multitude, and the other is made a cloak to cover selfish and interested views.

“ Unplaced, unpensioned, no man’s heir or
“ slave.”

He equally abhorred the titled slave to
interest

interest or ambition, and turbulent mover of sedition, or the enemy to the crown and civil government.

His literary accomplishments must be left in great measure to be tried by the books which he has published (*a*) His knowledge in botany will from them stand confessed; but notwithstanding natural history was ever his chief delight and employment, yet he by no means confined himself to that alone. He attended with sedulity to all that knowledge which is requisite to make a good physician; and in his profession had peculiar success in treating the small-pox, and nervous disorders. That his knowledge of botany might not be looked upon as purely speculative he introduced into practice, valerian, pepper-mint water, and black-currants, three medicines with which, under his own eye, he worked effects much to the credit of his profession. His classical abilities will hardly be disputed; his relish for the ancient poets never forsook him, and even after he had lost the power of reading, he could hear the finer odes of Horace with that pleasure which is usually confined to the earlier part of life, and though with his usual modesty

(*a*) See also his M. S. writings, Appendix, No. I.

modesty he affirms that he was no poet himself (a) yet are there proofs extant that he had a better title to that name than many who have claimed it.

To his acquaintance with the ancient, he added also the modern languages : his own he studied critically ; and had actually composed a grammar of it, and had made large collections towards a new English dictionary upon the same plan with Dr. *Johnson's*. History both ancient and modern, together with its appendages, biography, geography, chronology, and genealogy, he was perfect master of ; divinity and ecclesiastical history were the studies of his latter days.

His epistolary correspondence with learned men was very extensive for about twenty years. During that time he corresponded with Dr. Blair, Mr. Wilmer, Mr. Francis Dale, Mr. Tullideph, Mr. Miller, Dr. Richmond of Burton near Wooton Bassett in Wiltshire, Dr. Richardson of North-Bierly in Yorkshire, Mr. L'Isle, Dr. Douglas, Mr. Hawksbee, Mr. Gilks, Mr. Richard Davies of Queen's College in Cambridge, Mr. Brewer of Bradford in Yorkshire, Sir Hans Sloane, Dr. Fysher, fellow

(a) Preface to his edition of Virgil's *Georgicks*.

low of Oriel College in Oxford, Dr. Thomas Dale, Mr. Halfhyde, Dr. Ruffel, Dr. Maffey, Mr. Houstoun, Mr. Arnald fellow of Emmanuel College, and afterwards rector of Thurstaston in Leicestershire, Beaupré Bell, junior, Esq; of Beaupré hall in Norfolk, Dr. Richard Rawlinson, Mr. Holmes fellow of Emmanuel College, Mr. Samuel Dale, Mr. Blackstone, Mr. Peter Collinson, &c. Also with Signor Micheli of Florence, Dr. Boerhaave and John Frederic Gronovius of Leyden, M. Jussieu of Paris, and Linnæus of Upsal.

His knowledge was solid though extensive, and he was learned without pedantry. Though his application had been severe, yet no man possessed a greater relish for social converse or the intercourse of friendship; though exact in his deportment and grave in his carriage, yet he readily unbended into cheerfulness, and had a high relish both for wit and humour when restrained within the bounds of decency and good-nature, and applied to proper objects.

A P P E N D I X.

N U M B. I.

EXCLUSIVE of considerable notes in the margin of several books, the following *Manuscripts* by Mr. Martin are remaining.

I. A new methodical distribution of Plants; containing their Classical and Generical characters.

II. Miscellaneous Description of Plants.

III. A Course of Lectures on Botany.

IV. Two common-place books in large folio, containing what is to be collected from the ancients concerning plants. The Greek are in the first, and the Latin writers in the second volume.

V. Index Plantarum circa Londinum provenientium.

VI. A methodical distribution of fossils.

VII. Lectures on the Materia Medica.

VIII. Practice of Physic in one volume folio, and one quarto.

IX. A Grammar of the English language.

X. Collections for a Dictionary of the English language, upon the same plan with Dr. *Johnson's*.

XI. Julius Cæsar's Expedition into Britain, extracted from his commentaries.—This M.S. contains also the entire history of the Romans in Britain, extracted from the ancients.

XII. The first book of Herodotus's history, translated into English.

XIII. Collections for an Universal Biographical Dictionary in three volumes folio.

XIV. An Introduction to Geography.

XV. Genealogical Tables of the Kings and Nobility of England, &c. in upwards of 200 folio pages.

XVI. Chronological Tables: compiled chiefly with a view to settle the sacred Chronology, and to connect it with the profane.

XVII. Collections for a History of the Royal Society.

XVIII. Commentaries in Latin upon the Georgicks of Virgil: two volumes folio.

XIX. Commentaries on the Æneid of Virgil.

NUMB. II.

THOMAS the father of *John Martyn* the subject of the foregoing Memoirs, was born July the 23d 1662, and died April the 8th 1743. He was a man of most strict integrity and exemplary piety.

His grandfather *John* was born 1635 and married *Rhoda* daughter of *Thomas Hodges, D. D.* Vicar of Kensington, one of the Assembly of Divines, and after the Restoration Dean of Hereford, and Rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill. See Newcourt's Repertorium Vol. 1. p. 681, 526.— Also Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. 2. 714.

He printed two Sermons.

1. "The growth and spreading of Hæresie. Set forth in a Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, on the 10th day of March, being the day of their publike Fast and Humiliation for the growth of Hæresie. By Thomas Hodges, Minister of God's word at Kensington. Published by order of the House of Commons. London 1647." 4to.

2. "Sion's Hallelujah: Set forth in a Sermon preached before the Right Honourable House of Peers, in the Abbie Church of Westminster, on Thursday June 28. Being the day of Publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God for his Majesties safe Return. By Tho. Hodges, Rector Ecclesiæ de Kensington. London 1660."

His second son was *Nathanael Hodges M. D.* who staid in London and attended Patients unhurt during the last great plague. He published "*Loimologia sive pestis Nuperæ apud Populum Londinensem Grassantis Narratio Historica.*

Lord. 1672. 8vo. Republished in English by Quincy in 1720.

The son of his eldest son *Thomas* was Attorney General at Barbadoes in the reign of Queen Anne and F. R. S.—*Elizabeth* daughter of the Attorney General was married to *John Hadley* of East Barnet, Esq; Vice-President of the Royal Society; well known for his improvements of the Quadrant and Telescope.

His Great Grandfather *Thomas Martyn* was born Nov. 11, 1601, was admitted Sizar of Emanuel College in Cambridge March 16, 1617, was matriculated in the University March 28, 1618, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1621, and of Master in 1625. He was Rector of Little Houghton in Northamptonshire, and having taken the Covenant he was expelled from his Living at the Restoration. After his ejection he came to London and lived retired. He married *Sarah* third daughter of *Richard Proud*, Citizen and Goldsmith of London, and Grand-daughter of *Richard Proud* Parson of Bourton upon Dunsmore in the County of Warwick (See Dugdale p. 194, 195) and *Rose* daughter of *William Nottingham* Bailiff of Ipswich in Suffolk, whose Father was Steward to the Lord Abbot of Bury St. Edmond's, and built the South Porch of one of the Churches. This *Rose Nottingham* was persecuted in the time of Queen

Queen Mary but escaped the flames. See *Fox* p. 1547 and 1894. Edit. 1610.

Sarah's elder brother *Richard* born 1595 was a Scholar in Caius College Cambridge, took the Degree of M. A. 1619, and 1622 was Rector of Thrandeston in Suffolk, from whence he was expelled in 1662, he died 1666, without issue, and was buried in Scolie alias Osmondeston Church in Norfolk.

Thomas Martyn died Nov. 17, 1692, aged 91 years and 6 days, and was buried at Chigwell in Essex against the Pulpit.—*John* the Father of this Thomas was born 1558, was Parson of Swindon, Nov. 30, 1581, and died July 5, 1626. His Father *Gilbert* married Katharine Daughter of Sir George Boteler of Stounbrooke; and his Grandfather *John* married Margaret Daughter and Heirefs of Humphrey Ruiding of Droitwich, Worcestershire.

N U M B. III.

PATRICK BLAIR, Dr. of Physic, and Fellow of the Royal Society, was born in Scotland. He practised Physic first in London; and afterwards at Boston in Lincolnshire; at which latter place he settled in the year 1720. He was a Nonjurer, and I suppose was concerned

in the Rebellion 1715, or at least was imprisoned as a suspected person.

Dr. Blair was a warm admirer and defender of his countryman Dr. Morison; and a great advocate for the circulation of the sap in vegetables. He was a good Naturalist, and attended particularly to Botany and Ornithology.

He published——“*Botanick Essays* in two parts. The first containing, the structure of the Flowers, and the fructification of plants; with their various distributions into method; and the second the generation of plants, with their sexes and manner of impregnating the seed: also concerning the *Animalcula* in *semine masculino*. Together with the nourishment of plants, and circulation of the sap in all seasons, analogous to that of the blood in Animals, with many curious remarks, and several discoveries and improvements. Adorned with figures. London, printed. 1720, 8vo.”—The first Essay treats of the structure of flowers.—The second, of the Fruits of plants.—The third, of the different methods of disposing plants.—The fourth, of the Generation.—And the fifth of the Nourishment of Plants.—It contains 414 pages besides the Preface; and four tables of figures.

He

He also published, "*Pbarmaco-botanologia* -
 " or, An Alphabetical and Classfical Dissertation
 " on all the British indigenous and Garden
 " Plants of the New London Dispensatory.
 " In which their genera, species, characteristick
 " and distinctive Notes are methodically de-
 " scribed; the Botanical Terms of Art ex-
 " plained; their virtues, uses, and shop-pre-
 " parations declared. With many curious and
 " useful Remarks from proper Observations."
 London, 1723. quarto.

He proposed to treat of about 400 plants, and
 to give about 40 in each Decad.

The second Decad was published the year fol-
 lowing. The 3d in 1725. The 4th, 5th, and
 6th in 1727. And the 7th in 1728. This I ap-
 prehend was the last, at least I have never seen
 any more; so that the work is left incomplete,
 carrying us only down to H in the Alphabet.

He also published at the desire of Dr. Mead.
 — " A new table of Dispensatory Plants, distri-
 buted according to their principal virtues. En-
 graved on a folio copper-plate.

There are several papers of his printed in the
 Philosophical Transactions.

" On Asbestus found in Scotland. n. 333.

" The Anatomy of an Elephant. n. 326,
 327, 358.

“ Observations upon the generation of Plants.
n. 369.

“ A method of discovering the virtues of
“ Plants by their external structure. n. 364.”

N U M B. IV.

WILLIAM SHERARD, Doctor of Laws in Oxford, and Fellow of the Royal Society, was many years the British Consul at Smyrna. In 1705 along with *Antonio Picenini* he visited the seven Churches of Asia: in 1709 and 1716 he transcribed the *Monumenta Teia*; he also caused the famous Sigeon Inscription to be copied and sent to England, and the learned *Chisbull* dedicates his account of it to him. He returned to England in 1718, and in 1721, made a tour to France, Holland, and Italy: as he was creeping on the Alps in search of plants, he narrowly escaped being shot by a peasant for a wolf: on his return he brought over with him the celebrated *Dillenius* to be his assistant and amanuensis. Though Dr. Sherard had acquired a considerable fortune during his stay in Asia, yet he lived with the greatest privacy in London, wholly immersed in the study of Natural History; except when he went to his brother's seat and fine garden at Eltham. He died August 12. 1728.

Dr.

Dr. Sherard never published any book under his own name; but all the Botanists of his time acknowledge his assistance, and celebrate his praises, as *Bobart* in his preface to the last volume of the *Historia Oxoniensis*, and *Ray* in the third volume of his *Historia Plantarum*. He purchased *M. Vaillant's* collection, and papers, assisted the learned *Boerhaave* in the publication of *Vaillant's Botanicon Parisiense*, and prefixed to it an Epistle addressed to *Boerhaave*. He was also the Editor of *Herman's Paradisus Batavus*, to which also he writ a preface under the title of S. W. A. (*Wilhelmus Sherardus Anglus*) he published part of *M. Tournefort's* botanical lectures, with the title of *Schola Botanica*. There are several papers by him in the *Philosophical Transactions*.—As

1. Of the Indian Varnish, by Dr. J. del Papa. no. 274.

2. Of a new Island raised near *Santerini* in the Archipelago, May 12, 1707. no. 314.

3. An account of Poyson-wood Tree in New England. no. 367.

The third edition of *Ray's Synopsis Stirpium Britannicarum* was published by *Dillenius* under his inspection.

The chief employment of his retirement was his *Pinax*, or collection of names which had been given by botanical Writers to plants, and
of

of which great expectations were formed by the learned world.

At his death he bequeathed his library and his valuable collections of specimens to the University of Oxford, to which he also gave 3000 pounds to provide a salary for their Professor of Botany.

His MSS. were presented in the year 1766 by Mr. Ellis to the Royal Society.

NUMB. V.

JOHN JAMES DILLENIUS M. D. was born in 1684: was brought over into England by Dr. Sherard in August 1721 to be his amanuensis, and after his death was Professor of Botany in Oxford till the year 1747, in which he died.

—He published “*Catalogus Plantarum circa Gissam nascentium.*” Francof. 1719. 8vo.

“*Hortus Elthamensis.* 1732 folio.” In this work is contained a great number of rare plants, with their descriptions and Synonyma, adorned with very good and accurate figures done by his own hand from plants in Dr. James Sherard’s garden at Eltham in Kent.

“*Historia Muscorum.* 1741 4to.” Containing the Synonyma, history, and descriptions of above 600 Mosses; with figures done also by himself. The accuracy with which he has treated

treated this class of plants, from their numbers and affinity to each other extremely difficult to distinguish, and the great deficiency of all former writers upon this subject, render Dillenius's work very valuable, and have gained the author immortal honour.

He designed a new Edition of Ray's *Metbodus emendata & aucta*, and it was ready for the press in 1721, but was never printed.

NUMB. VI.

Mr. *Vincent Bacon* was a surgeon and apothecary, and practised first at London, and afterwards at Grantham in Lincolnshire. He was fellow of the Royal Society, and there is a paper of his in the Philosophical Transactions, upon "the case of a man who was poisoned by eating Monks-hood or *Napellus*." no. 432.

Charles Deering M. D. came over first to England in the train of a foreign Ambassador, and afterwards practised Physic at Nottingham. He published—"Catalogus stirpium &c."—Or "a Catalogue of plants naturally growing and commonly cultivated in divers parts of England, more especially about Nottingham." Printed at Nottingham 1738. Also—"A Historical Account of Nottingham."—Nottingham 1751. 4to.

Walter

Walter Tullideph was amanuensis to Dr. Douglas : he afterwards settled in Antigua first as a Planter, and then in 1730 as a Practitioner in Physic and Surgery.

NUMB. VII.

RICHARD BRADLEY fellow of the Royal Society ; the well known Author of various treatises in Natural History, Husbandry &c. was at this time Professor of Botany. He was chosen into this office November the 10th 1724, by means of a pretended verbal recommendation from Dr. Sherard to Dr. Bentley, and pompous assurances that he would procure the University a public Botanic Garden by his own private purse and personal interest. The vanity of his promises was now seen, and his total ignorance of the learned languages known. So that as the Professor neglected to read lectures himself, the University made no difficulty to permit Mr. Martyn to do it. Mr. Bradley however read a course of lectures on the *Materia Medica* in 1729 at the Bull Inn (a). In 1731 he was grown so scandalous, that it was in agitation to turn him out of his Professorship ; and he died in the latter end of 1732.

(a) See the Grub-street Journal No. 11.

It may seem strange to assert that the Translator of Xenophon's *Œconomicks* did not understand Greek; it is however true: Mr. Bradley's being then a popular name, he was paid by the Booksellers for permitting them to insert it in the title. He might however have made this translation without much knowledge of the Greek language; for upon examination it turns out only to be an old translation modernized.

N U M B. , VIII.

Dr. King was born at St. Columb in Cornwall May the 1st 1652. He was Patron of the Church of Pertenhall in Bedfordshire, and became Rector there in the year 1690, but in 1694 removed by exchange to Chelsea. A great intimacy subsisted between him and Sir William Dawes Archbishop of York, who gave him the Prebend of Wighton in the Cathedral Church of York in the year 1718. Though educated at Exeter College in Oxford, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity in 1698 at Catharine Hall in Cambridge, where the Archbishop was Master. He died May the 30th 1732, and was buried at Pertenhall.

He published

“ A Sermon preached at the Funeral of Sir
 “ Willoughby Chamberlain Knt. who died at
 “ his

“ his house at Chelsea, Dec. 6. and was interred
 “ at the Parish Church of St. James Garlick
 “ Hith, London, Dec. 12. 1697. By John
 “ King Rector of Chelsea, near London. Printed
 “ for Thomas Bennet at the Half-moon in St.
 “ Paul’s Church-yard, 1697.” 4to.

“ The Divine Favour the best Alliance : or
 “ Repentance the safest Sanctuary in times of
 “ Danger. A Sermon preached at the Parish
 “ Church of Chelsea near London, on Friday
 “ the 19th of December 1701. Being the fast
 “ day appointed by his Majesty’s proclamation.
 “ By John King D. D. Rector of Chelsea.—
 “ London Printed for Thomas Speed ; over
 “ against Jonathan’s Coffee House in Exchange
 “ Alley in Cornhill. 1702.” 4to.

“ Animadversions on a Pamphlet intituled
 “ A Letter of Advice to the Churches of the
 “ Nonconformists of the English nation ; en-
 “ deavouring their satisfaction in that point,
 “ *Who are the True Church of England?* By John
 “ King D. D. Rector of Chelsea near London.
 “ The second edition, London, Printed for
 “ Thomas Speed, 1702.” 4to.

“ The case of John Atherton, Bishop of
 “ Waterford in Ireland : Fairly represented.
 “ Against a late Partial Edition of Dr. Bar-
 “ nard’s Relation and Sermon at his Funeral.
 “ With some Remarks on the Title Page, the
 “ ad-

“ additional Preface, and a Scandalous and Im-
 “ modest Advertisement lately set forth in a
 “ Publick Paper; whereby the said Bishop’s
 “ Case is misrepresented, and the Episcopal
 “ Order aspersed. With a brief account of a
 “ Conspiracy against the life of Mr. Robert
 “ Hawkins, Minister of Chilton, Bucks, Tried
 “ before Sir Matthew Hale. Also of the Plot of
 “ Robert Young, and Stephen Blackhead, against
 “ the Bishop of Rochester. London: Printed
 “ for Luke Stokoe, at the Golden Key and
 “ Bible, near Charing Cross, and sold by
 “ J. Morphew near Stationers Hall. 1716.”
 8vo.

In the Appendix are two Anonymous Letters, but it appears by interlineations in Dr. King’s own hand, that the first was from Dr. Thomas Mill Bishop of Waterford; and that the second was to that Bishop from the Rev. Mr. Alcock Chancellor of Waterford.

“ Tolando Pseudologo-mastix, or a Curry-
 “ comb for a lying coxcomb. Being an an-
 “ swer to a late piece of Mr. Toland’s called
 “ Hypatia &c. London, printed for Luke Sto-
 “ koe, and sold by T. Bickerton at the Crown
 “ in Pater-noster Row. 1721.” 8vo.

His eldest son *John* was born August the 5th 1696. From Eaton School he was sent to King’s College in Cambridge, where he became Fel-
 low,

low, and took the degree of Master of Arts. He afterwards settled at Stamford in Lincolnshire, and practised Physic there with great reputation; but was cut off by a fever October the 12th 1728. By Lucy daughter of Thomas Morrice Esq; he had one son *John* now Patron and Rector of Pertenhall in Bedfordshire.

He published

- “ *Epistola ad virum ornatissimum Johannem*
- “ *Friend, Coll. Med. Lond. et Societ. Regiæ*
- “ *Socium. In qua D. W. Trilleri, Phil. & Med.*
- “ *D. Epistolam Medico-Criticam super primo*
- “ *& tertio Epidemiorum, a viro ornatissimo*
- “ *editis, ad examen revocavit Johannes King,*
- “ *Coll. Regal. Socius. Cantab. 1722.” 8vo.*
- “ *Euripidis Hecuba, Orestes, et Phoenissæ.*
- “ *Collatis decem MSSis textum & scholia*
- “ *emendavit: scholiis ineditis, versione elegantiore,*
- “ *notis perpetuis, & dissertatiunculis de*
- “ *metro Tragico auxit, & illustravit; Johannes*
- “ *King, Coll. Regal. Cantab. Socius. Cantabrigiæ: Typis Academicis. 1726.” 8vo.*

Extracts

NUMB. IX.

Extraëts from Letters.

I.

To Dr. Patrick Blair.

S IR,

Dec. 16, 1723.

CANNOT tell which was greater, my surprize or pleasure, when I received your letter; in which you inform me that you are endeavouring after a method taken from the Seed Leaves. I have been actually engaged in the same design, and find so much encouragement, that I am resolved to push it on with vigour. I dare not say that I have seen every species of any one tribe, or one species of every tribe; but by what I have seen, I may form a conjecture that the *Leguminosæ* have their seed leaves firm and carnos, and most of them not rising above ground: whether they may not upon this distinction form two tribes remains to be enquired. The *Umbelliferæ* are I believe all narrow, long, and pointed. The *Stellatæ* oval, and in a manner cordate; which shows how different this tribe is from the last, though they agree in being *Gymnodispermous*. The *Tetrapetalæ Siliquosæ* are broad and cordate, but easily distinguishable from the *Stellatæ*. In short I

doubt

APPENDIX.

doubt not but I shall find the same concordance amongst the *Verticillatæ*, *Asperifoliæ*, and perhaps *Multifiliquæ*. I do not expect to find the *Apetalæ* agree together. It is a class I am not at all fond of. But I should not wonder to find *Lapathum*, *Atriplex*, *Bistorta*, *Persicaria*, *Plantago*, &c. agree well in their seed leaves; and if they do, they may be classed together under the name of *Spicatæ*; no new division, unless we reckon Theophrastus a modern. The *Cucurbitaceæ* may make a good class; and perhaps the *Malvaceæ* too: and should I find the *Gerania* agree with them, I should not wonder. *Lychnis*, *Caryophyllus*, and other true caryophylleous flowers may perhaps make up a class under the title of *Coronariæ*, a term used by some old authors: as is also *Campanaceæ*, which may make another. As for the *Monopetalæ* and *Pentapetalæ Valculiferaæ*, I have an aversion to them as well as the *Apetalæ*. But enough of conjectures: I do not however intend to build upon them. Experiments are what I want; and I do not doubt of your assistance, as soon as the Spring season shall give us frequent opportunities of communicating our mutual observations.

APPENDIX.

H

II.

To the same.

SIR,

Jan. 14, 1723-4.

WHEN I first entered upon the scheme of forming a method from the seed leaves, I thought their form would be sufficient to found distinctions upon: but on reading *Cæsalpinus* (who gives more light into this doctrine than any of his successors) I found that he had observed the situation of the point of the Radicle in the seed, and had laid great stress upon it in classing of plants.

I agree with you in the observation of the *Cichoraceæ* having long, narrow, pointed seed leaves, as well as the *Umbelliferæ*, but then the situation of the point of the Radicle distinguishes them according to *Cæsalpinus*. This author puts the *Umbelliferæ* amongst those *quorum Cor* (to use his own words) *exterius vergit*: and the compound Flowers amongst those whose seeds have *Cor in inferiore parte*. In this the *Scabiosa* according to the same author differs from compound flowers; which makes me more inclinable to subscribe to the opinion of Dr. *Dillenius*, who separated it from them, because it has really *Stamina* and *Apices* like the Simple Flowers, and proper Empalements to the little Flowers.

Cæsalpinus observes the same difference in the *Asperifoliæ* and *Verticillatæ*.

III.

To the Same.

SIR,

May 10, 1724.

I AM very much obliged to you for thinking I deserve the honour of being admitted into the Royal Society. Dr. Douglas was so kind as to offer to introduce me last year; but I declined it, because it is my opinion, that they ought to be very cautious in the admission of their Members, and should take in none but those who have given convincing proofs of their learning and abilities.

IV.

From Mr. Miller to Mr. Martyn.

SIR,

Chelfey, June 6, 1730.

Dr. Ratty is in a very bad way, and is thought by those who attend him very near death; (a) so that if you intend to stand for his place I think it absolutely necessary for you to be in town, but this I submit to your own

(a) He died on the 10th of June at three in the afternoon.

choice

choice. I have had an opportunity of talking with several Members of the Royal Society, and find your interest with them very considerable. Mr. Eames told me he thought you the most proper person, as did Mr. Hales and some others. As to Dr. Wiggan, though he makes great interest, and is espoused by Dr. Mead, who engaged Mr. Hales and many others to join their votes for him, yet he cannot stand, for he is not admitted a member yet, nor do I believe he will be until the election is over; for there has been no meeting since he was proposed; and I understand there will not be a Council called, because he should not have an opportunity to stand; so that the interest of Sir Hans will be greatly divided, and probably a greater opportunity for a third person to carry it away. You may depend on it there will not be any opponent but Dr. Mortimer. As for Dr. Nichols he has very little interest that I can find; and the Mathematicians all oppose Dr. Pemberton, by which means if you can engage them for you I think there will be no danger.

V.

To Mr. Houstoun.

Dear Sir,

Chelsey, May 22, 1731.

THE only letter I have had the favour of receiving from you was dated Dec. 14. But I

d 3

have

have been favoured with some of your specimens by Mr. Miller. The last collection indeed has been almost spoiled by the Sea water; and what few were saved are mostly sunk a second time in the abyss of Sir Hans's collection, where I never expect to see, or hear of them more. I am obliged to you for the remembrance of me with some others of your friends in the names you have ascribed to your new Genera. I agree with you in your opinion that no more characters should be given of a Genus, than are sufficient to distinguish it from all others. This would be rendered more easy, had I time and abilities to finish those general tables which I have begun.

I just saw your account of the Cochineal, and must let you know with some concern, that as it differed in some material circumstances from that of Sir Hans, the public will never reap the benefit of it. So far does some men's ambition go beyond an undissembled love of truth. For the future, if you have any thing which you would have communicated to the Royal Society or the Public, I would advise you to think of conveying it by some other channel. You have done enough already to stir up the jealousy of any man who has been before you in the West Indies; and, if I am not grievously mistaken, you will soon make it difficult for any one to have

APPENDIX.

14

have success who comes after you. I wish those who are able were willing, or else that those who are willing were more able to serve you. If good wishes, and the highest esteem of your diligence and capacity could be of any service to you. You have them from

Dear Sir, &c.

VI.

From the Rev. Mr. Arnald to Mr. Martyn.

Dear Sir, Eman. Coll. Nov. 30. 1732.

WHEN first I came down to College I was in hopes we might have carried the Botany Professorship for you without any opposition; and indeed imagined the University out of regard to your known merit would have made you a compliment of it; but it was not long before I heard that Mr. Goddard of St. John's College was determined to appear for it, at the recommendation of Dr. Middleton, who says he talked to you, and you seemed very indifferent about it. There is now a second candidate started up, Mr. Parn of Trinity College, and strong interest is making for him.

I find these two gentlemen are resolved to stand it out, and that many whom I have talked with are of opinion that the preference should be given to one of the Senate, if he appears

d. 4.

for

for it. Upon the whole we have thought it better to decline the farther prosecution of this affair, as it is much controverted, purely honorary, and what I think you do not much set your heart upon, except you could receive it by way of compliment.

VII.

From the same.

Dear Sir, Eman. Coll. Dec. 3. 1732.

SINCE my last letter Mr. Goddard has desisted, purely out of a sense of your superior merit. Mr. Parn we are not at all apprehensive about; he has not been at Cambridge for some time, and 'tis thought when he comes his friends will advise him to desist; but be that as it will, we shall certainly have a great majority in your favour, and as the Society has this affair much at heart, they have taken all the proper steps to secure it.

VIII.

VIII.

To the Rev. Mr. Arnald Fellow of Emmanuel
College, Cambridge.

Dear Sir,

Chelfey Dec. 5. 1732.

I AM greatly obliged to you and the rest of my friends for your warmth in my interest. I must own I was something surpris'd when I understood by your former letter that I was to meet with so much opposition. I thought the University would never have made any difficulty about giving me an empty title in a Science which I had restored, after it had been totally lost among them, and had continued to teach for six years with much labour and little profit. I shall be always fond of any mark of their esteem for me provided they can be unanimous in bestowing it; but never desire to be the cause of animosities amongst them: so that if it is probable there will be much opposition I desire to desist. I find it objected to me that I have left the University, which you can refute, for you know that my name is still on the boards at Emmanuel, and that I told you when you was here that I had no thoughts of cutting it out. And besides I wonder any should imagine I would show so little regard to the University as to neglect them after such a public
mark

mark of their esteem and favour. How inconvenient soever it may be to me in the following of my practice here, which absence must necessarily injure; I shall nevertheless endeavour to serve the University whenever it can be done without the greatest detriment to my own private affairs. As to the other objection, that I will not take the oaths, you may be assured it is intirely without foundation; and if you remember I intended to have taken them last summer, if I had not been obliged to leave Cambridge a week before the assizes.

IX.

From Mr. Arnald.

Dear Sir,

Dec. 17. 1732.

I THOUGHT by this post to have given you joy of the Botany Professorship; but we were advised to defer that affair 'till the beginning of next term, upon notice that our good friend the Master of Christ's intended to stop your Grace in the Caput: as you know the man, I need not tell you it was upon the surmise of your being a Nonjuror. I have already been with the Vice-Chancellor upon that subject, and I think satisfied him; but I wish to remove all objections, you would take the
Oaths

Oaths, or at least assure them by a line that you are ready to do it chearfully if called upon.

The Trinity people upon hearing from Mr. Parn, have dropt him, so that now you are the only candidate, and have it all before you, if you will comply as above.

X.

To Mr. Arnald.

Dear Sir,

Chelsey, Dec. 23, 1732.

I AM sorry you have had so much trouble on my account. I cannot imagine what injury I ever did any member of the University, or what can be the occasion of so ill-natured and groundless a report as that I am unwilling to take the oaths. I am sure no word or action of mine can have given any reason for such a suspicion. The inclosed will however I imagine be a sufficient answer to this objection. I must add that I should have taken the oaths when I did, if this affair had not happened.

From

XI.

From Dr. Mead to Mr. Martyn.

Ormond Street, March 23, 1740-1.

S I R,

EVER since I received the favour of your Virgil's Georgics, with your Letter, and the Copy of a Dedication, I have at leisure minutes entertained myself with reading the divine Poet and your learned Commentary. I could not have thought that after so many great Critics and Commentators, so much more could have been done to illustrate that noble work ; I dare say the learned World will own that you have outdone them all. You have done great honour to my two M.S.S. and I am glad they have been more useful to you than I imagined they would, being of no great age ; but your good judgment and sagacity has shewn itself in finding out always the best readings.

I am very sensible of the honour you do me, in prefixing my name to so valuable a performance, when you might have chosen Patrons in all respects more worthy. It is always agreeable *Laudari a Viro Laudato*. But it gives me a particular pleasure on this occasion, that this will I hope be a foundation of an acquaintance
and

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and friendship between us, and that I may hereby have it in my power to shew with how much respect I am, &c.

XII.

To Mr. Knapton.

SIR, Chelsey, May 6, 1742.

WHEN I saw you last, I told you that the declension of the sale of our Abridgement (a) was entirely owing to the Papers translated by Mr. Chambers. (b) To prove my assertion I have sent you the first paper that came in my way, which I assure you is very far from being one of the worst, and desire you would give yourself the trouble to look over it. The author writes with great prolixity, and Mr. Chambers is so far from having abridged him, that he has paraphrased him, sometimes using two or three words, where the author contents himself with one. But what is worse the English Style (if it may be called English) is very low and poor, and full of blunders. I shall only point out to you some of the errors of a few pages,

(a) Of the French Memoirs.

(b) Author of the Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences.

which

which I wish you would read over carefully, and try if you can even make sense of them.

p. 160. *Remarkables* are discoverable; this sounds very ill to the ear, and I question whether *Remarkables* is English. In the French it is *ce qu'il y a de singulier*.

I have extended my observations to *see-nettles* instead of *sea-nettles*.

p. 161. *folding* or *two-leaved* might be expressed by one proper word *bivalve*.

p. 165. *Lavignon* instead of the French word *Lavignon*. Mr. Chambers was ignorant of the English names of most of the shell-fishes. Thus he translated *œil de bouc* the goat's eye, instead of *limpet*, which is a well-known name, and these *Lavignons* are called *Purrs* on our coast.

I shall trouble you with no more; the paper goes on in the same manner, or rather worse. I will only desire you to turn to page 182. where you will find my hand again to some French words spelt in a surprising manner.

Mr. Chambers never makes use of any stops, which occasions a great deal of trouble both to the Printer and me: most of his papers are so ill done, that it would be as little trouble to translate them from the original, as to reduce his to common sense and tolerable English.

XIII.

To the Right Worshipful the Vice-Chancellor
of Cambridge.

S I R,

SENSIBLE of the great honour done me by the University many years ago in conferring upon Me the title of their Professor of Botany ; and of the continuance of their favour in bestowing the same on my Son upon my resignation ; I am desirous of making some acknowledgement. I therefore request the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Cambridge to accept of my printed Books relating to Botany, and of my *Hortus Siccus* containing a considerable number of dried Specimens of Plants, collected from most parts of the known world. The whole is contained in eight wainscot cases, which I desire may be deposited in some convenient place for the use and under the care of the present Professor of Botany, and of his Successors for the time being. I hope, Sir, the University will not disdain to receive this small donation from their most obliged, &c.

DISSERTATION I.

A Vindication of the Poet Virgil from the charge of an Anachronism with regard to the Foundation of Carthage.

THERE is not any part of Virgil's writings, that has been so generally censured, as that now before us, where he places the founding of Carthage by Dido soon after the destruction of Troy; whereas most chronologers agree, that the founding of that city could not be less than two or three hundred years after the Trojan war (*a*). M. De

B

Segrais

(*a*) "Haec ait: et Maia genitum demittit ab alto;

"Ut terrae, utque novae pateant Carthaginis

"arces

"Hospitio Teucris: ne fati nescia Dido

"Finibus arceret."

Aen. I. 297.

"Devenere locos ubi nunc ingentia cernes

"Moenia, surgentemque novae Carthaginis

"arcem."

Ibid. 365.

Vide 418, &c.

2 DISSERTATION I.

Segrais was so desirous to have vindicated his author in this particular, that he solicited the learned Bochart to give him his thoughts on the subject, which he performed in the following letter :

“ As you have desired me to give you my
“ opinion concerning the Anachronism for
“ which some criticks have condemned the
“ fine poem that you are translating ; I shall
“ do it according to my custom with sincerity, but in few words, considering the
“ greatness of the question, not having leisure to apply myself wholly to a subject
“ so distant from those in which I am at
“ present engaged. First then I am not
“ afraid to tell you that if this Anachronism
“ is not manifest, there is nothing in history that is so. Although chronologers
“ are not perfectly agreed about the time of
“ the taking of Troy, yet there is not one
“ who deserves any name amongst them,
“ who does not place it above 60 years before the time of Saul. Now from the
“ first year of the reign of Saul to the time
“ when Dido built Byrsa, a fortress in Carthage, there are above 200 years. To give
“ you

DISSERTATION I. 3

“ you the proofs of this would make a long
 “ discourse, but I shall content myself with
 “ telling you in general, that they are taken
 “ from the Tyrian chronicles, which have
 “ always been looked upon as very true.
 “ Sanchoniatho who began them lived be-
 “ fore the Trojan war, and after him lived
 “ Theodotus, Hypsicrates, and Mochus,
 “ who continued them. All these writ in
 “ the Phoenician language. Philo Byblius
 “ has translated the first, and Laetus the
 “ other three into Greek. There are
 “ several others who have written on the
 “ same subject, as Menander of Ephesus,
 “ Jerom of Egypt, Asclepiades of Cy-
 “ prus, Teucer of Cyzicus, Dios, Philo-
 “ stratus, Claudius, Jollaus, of all whom
 “ some fragments are to be met with in the
 “ antiquities of Josephus, and in his books
 “ against Appion, in Clemens of Alexandria,
 “ Tatian of Assyria, Theophilus of Antioch,
 “ Porphyry, Eusebius, and in the Etymolo-
 “ gicum magnum. But what is most to our
 “ subject, is a passage of Menander of Ephe-
 “ sus, quoted by Josephus in several places,
 “ and by Theophilus of Antioch in his

B 2
“ third

4 DISSERTATION I.

“ third book to Aulolicus. In this passage
“ is found a long series of kings, who reign-
“ ed at Tyre, from Abibalus down to Pyg-
“ malion the brother of Dido who built
“ Carthage, and how long each reigned,
“ and the principal of their actions.
“ There Hiram is mentioned, who cut
“ down a great quantity of cedars on mount
“ Lebanon to build temples, and a learned
“ young man named Abdemon, to whom
“ Solomon proposed questions. This shews
“ that this is the Hiram spoken of in scrip-
“ ture, who lived in the time of Solomon,
“ and supplied him with timber for the
“ building of the temple. This Hiram was
“ succeeded by Baleazar who reigned 7 years,
“ and he by Abdastratus his son who reigned
“ 9 years; and when he was killed by the
“ four sons of his nurse, one of them reign-
“ ed 12 years. Astartus the son of Delea-
“ startus succeeded him and reigned also 12
“ years. Then Userymus the brother of this
“ Astartus, who reigned 9. He was killed
“ by his brother Phaletus, who reigned only
“ 8 months. But Ithobalus priest of the
“ goddess Astarte put him to death and sat
“ upon

DISSERTATION I. 5

“ upon the throne 32 years. His son Ba-
 “ dezorus reigned 6 years, and his grandson
 “ Matgenus 9. Pygmalion who succeeded
 “ reigned longer than any of them, namely
 “ 47 years. *In the seventh year of his reign*
 “ *his sister (Dido) fled and built Carthage in*
 “ *Africa.* Here we must observe, that A-
 “ hab, one of the kings of Israel, was con-
 “ temporary with Ithobalus, who in the
 “ scripture is called Ethbaal, and married
 “ his daughter Jesabel. This is proved by
 “ III. Kings 16, 31. when we read that *he*
 “ *took to wife Jezebel the daughter of Ethbaal*
 “ *king of the Zidonians.* For that Ethbaal
 “ is Ithobalus is proved, 1. by the resem-
 “ blance of the names, for it appears that
 “ the Greeks not being able to bear the
 “ roughness of Ethbaal, changed it to Itho-
 “ balus: and this indeed is the name by
 “ which he is called by Josephus and the
 “ Greek writers. The Syrians write it Ita-
 “ beel, the Arabians Ithibael and the Sep-
 “ tuagint Jethebaal, which shews it to be a
 “ name that varies according to the language.
 “ These are the words of Josephus concern-
 “ ing Ahab. *And he married the daughter of*

6 DISSERTATION I.

“ *Ithobalus king of the Tyrians and Zidonians,*
 “ *whose name was Jezabel.* 2. The times
 “ agree, for by comparing the Hebrew chro-
 “ nology in the scripture with that of the
 “ Tyrians, which is very exact in their
 “ chronicles, as I have already observed,
 “ we find Ithobalus reigned in Tyre at the
 “ same time that Ahab reigned in Samaria.
 “ 3. There is another certain mark, that
 “ there was a great famine and drought in
 “ Israel in the reign of Ahab. III. Kings 17.
 “ which the Tyrian chronicles also men-
 “ tion under Ithobalus. Thus Menander
 “ speaks of it, as he is quoted by Josephus.
 “ *There was a great drought in this reign from*
 “ *the month Hyperberetaeus to the month Hy-*
 “ *perberetaeus in the following year, and on his*
 “ *causing prayers to be made there was a great*
 “ *quantity of thunder.* This is what is cal-
 “ led in Scripture *a sound of much rain.* III.
 “ Kings 18, 41. Just as history tells us,
 “ that under Marcus Aurelius, when the
 “ Roman army was dying with thirst, Ar-
 “ nuphis an Egyptian philosopher procured
 “ *a great quantity of rain, with thunder and*
 “ *lightening, one upon another.* It appears
 “ now,

DISSERTATION I. 7

“ now, that the time in which Ithobalus
 “ lived is very well known, and consequent-
 “ ly that of his grandson Pygmalion, who
 “ sat upon the throne 15 years after the
 “ death of Ithobalus, and Dido fled into
 “ Africa in the seventh year of the reign of
 “ Pygmalion. It was when Jehu reigned
 “ in Samaria, and the wicked Athaliah in
 “ Jerusalem. We cannot therefore call the
 “ time of Dido in question, nor the Ana-
 “ chronism of Virgil; but we must keep to
 “ the other answer, that Virgil might with-
 “ out a crime be ignorant of what we have
 “ not discovered, but by a comparison of the
 “ Tyrian chronology with the Holy Bible,
 “ which Virgil had not seen: besides he
 “ might be deceived by another circum-
 “ stance. Under the shadow that Dido
 “ built Birsá, or rather Bosra, which was
 “ the fortress of Carthage, several write that
 “ she built Carthage itself. If this was true,
 “ she might have lived in the time of Aeneas,
 “ or even before: for Carthage was built
 “ before the destruction of Troy. Appian
 “ says 50 years, and Eusebius 30 before,
 “ which

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“ which is thought to be the most true
“ computation.”

We find now that the whole stress of this learned author's argument lies in connecting the chronology of the Tyrian annals with that of the sacred writings. I shall readily grant, that those annals are very authentick, that the Irom there spoken of is that very Hiram, who furnished Solomon with cedars for the building of the temple, that the catalogue of Tyrian Kings is very exactly taken from Menander in Eusebius, that Ahab was contemporary with Ithobalus; that this prince is the same with Ethbaal the father of Jezabel, and that Dido fled to Carthage in the seventh year of her brother's reign, about the time that Jehu reigned over Israel, and Athaliah over Judah. I shall go yet farther, and for the satisfaction of the reader, endeavour to settle the very year according to the best of my ability, when the things just spoken of happened. In order to this it will be necessary to fix some period of time, from which we may compute. The universal deluge, according to the Hebrew account, happened in the year of the world 1656. Two years
after

DISSERTATION I. 9

after the deluge Shem begat Arphaxad. The succeeding Patriarchs begat their sons at the following ages, according to the eleventh chapter of Genesis, Arphaxad 35, Salah 30, Eber 34, Peleg 30, Reu 32, Serug 30, Nahor 29, and his son Terah died at the age of 205. Now if we take these numbers together, we shall have $2 + 35 + 30 + 34 + 30 + 32 + 30 + 29 + 205 = 427$, which being added to the year of the deluge 1656 will make 2083, the year when Terah died and Abraham was called to sojourn. The Israelites came out of Egypt 430 years after the call of Abraham; therefore the year of the Exodus was 2513. Solomon began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign, in the 480th year after the Exodus, that is, in 2993, finished it in 7 years or 3000, and dedicated it in the following year. He reigned in all forty years; and therefore died in 3029. Rehoboam reigned 17 years, Abijam 3, Asa 41, Jehoshaphat 25, Jehoram 8, of which he reigned 2 with his father, and 6 by himself, Ahaziah 1, Athaliah 6, Joash 40, Amaziah 29, Uzziah 52, Jotham

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Jotham 16, Ahaz 16, Hezekiah 29, Manasseh 55, Amon 2, Josiah 31, Jehoiakim 11, Zedekiah 11. If we take the sum of these reigns together, we shall have $17+3+41+25+6+1+6+40+29+52+16+16+29+55+2+31+11+11=391$, that is 392 including the last year of Solomon, to the eleventh of Zedekiah, in which the city and temple of Jerusalem were burnt by Nebuchadnezzar. The siege began two years before, in the ninth of Zedekiah, that is 390 from the death of Solomon; to which number the prophet Ezekiel seems to allude, by lying on his side 390 days (b).

To the year 3029, in which Solomon died, add 391 the sum of the reigns of the kings who succeeded him: the eleventh of Zedekiah will be in the year 3420. Now the prophet Jeremiah tells us, in his last chapter, that the eleventh of Zedekiah, in which Jerusalem was burnt, was the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar; and that the seven and thirtieth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin was the beginning of the

(b) Ezekiel IV.

DISSERTATION I. 11

the reign of Evil-merodach. This last prince was the successor of Nebuchadnezzar, who, according to Ptolomy's canon died in the year of Nabonassar 187: therefore the first year of the captivity was 150 of Nabonassar, and the year in which the temple was burnt 160. The same prophet tells us, that the fourth of Jehoiakim was the first of Nubuchadnezzar. Now that king had reigned eleven years, when he was deposed and imprisoned by the Babylonian monarch, in the eighth year of his reign, or 149 of Nabonassar. His son Jehoiachim reigned only three months and ten days; "*and when the year was expired,*" king Nebuchadnezzar sent, and brought him to Babylon, with the goodly vessels of the house of the Lord, and made Zedekiah his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem." 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 9, 10. Therefore the captivity of Jehoiachim, and the reign of Zedekiah begin in 150, as above. Thus the reigns of the kings of Judah are sufficiently connected with the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and the year of Nabonassar. The taking of Babylon by Cyrus was in the year of Nabonassar 210, as all our great chronologers

12 DISSERTATION I.

nologers allow. Sir Isaac Newton agrees with Archbishop Usher that it was in the year 538 before the Christian *æra*; and the Archbishop and Sir John Marsham agree, that it was in the year of the Julian period 4176. We have seen above, that the eleventh of Zedekiah was the year of Nabonassar 160, and of the world 3420: consequently the destruction of Babylon was in year of the world 3470. This point being settled, we find that the year of the world 2993, which we have already shewn to be the year of founding the temple, was 3699 of the Julian Period, and 1015 before Christ.

The Temple was founded in the eleventh of Hiram. Let us take the 23 remaining years of his reign, the 7 of Balazar, the 9 of Abdastratus, the 12 of the usurper, the 12 of Astartus, the 9 of Aserymus, the 32 of Ithobalus, the 6 of Badezorus, the 9 of Matgenus, and the first 7 of Pygmalion; we shall have $23+7+9+12+12+9+32+6+9+7=126$. Add this number to the time of the temple; and we shall find the flight of Dido, and year of founding Carthage, according

DISSERTATION I. 13

according to the Tyrian records, to be 3119 of the world, 3825 of the Julian Period, and 889 before Christ. Appian, about the latter end of his history of the Carthaginian wars, tells us, that Carthage flourished 700 years from the time of it's foundation to that of it's destruction; Ο δε Σκιπίων πόλιν οραν επ'αχαιοις εισιν ανησασαν απο του συνοικισμού.

Our Chronologers agree that the destruction of Carthage happened in the year of the Julian Period 4568, from which if we take 700, we shall find the year of it's foundation to be 3868, which is 43 years later than the time which we have already computed. But it is plain from Appian himself, that the number here set down is far from being exact; for at the beginning of the same book, he tells us, that the Romans took Sicily from the Carthaginians 700 years after the foundation of Carthage; Επ'αχαιοις δ' αυτου; ετισιν απο του συνοικισμού Ρωμαιοι Σικελιαν αφειλοντο.

The taking of Sicily concluded the first Carthaginian war; and during the third, Asdrubal, in his speech to the consuls, tells them how Carthage had flourished 700 years; Η Καρχηδονίων πόλις . . . επ'αχαιοις εισιν ανησασα.

Thus

14 DISSERTATION I.

Thus we find, that this author gives the same age to Carthage, at the end of the first war, at the beginning of the third, and at it's total destruction. Solinus seems to be more exact, who says it stood 737 years; "Adry-
 " meto atque Carthagini auctor est a Tyro
 " populus: sed quae super Carthagine ve-
 " races libri prodiderunt, hoc loco reddam.
 " Urbem istam, ut Cato in oratione sena-
 " toria autumat, cum rex Hiarbas rerum in
 " Libya potiretur, Elissa mulier exstruxit,
 " domo Phoenix, et Carthadam dixit, quod
 " Phoenicum, ore exprimit civitatem no-
 " vam: mox sermone verso in morem Puni-
 " cum, et haec Elissa, et illa Carthago dicta
 " est: quae post *annos septingentos triginta*
 " *septem* exciditur, quam fuerat exstructa."
 Sir John Marsham, who quotes this passage of Solinus, hence concludes, that Carthage was founded in the year 3832, which is seven years later than the time we have assigned above. Sir Isaac Newton having quoted the same passage, adds; "Elissa was Dido, and
 " Carthage was destroyed in the consulship
 " of Lentulus and Mummius, in the year
 " of the Julian Period 4568; from whence
 " count

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“ count backwards 737 years, and the *En-*
 “ *caenia* or Dedication of the city will fall
 “ upon the 16th year of Pygmalion, the
 “ brother of Dido, and king of Tyre. She
 “ fled in the seventh year of Pygmalion,
 “ but the aera of the city began with it’s
 “ *Encaenia*.” In his short Chronicle, he
 “ places the building of Carthage, in the
 “ year before Christ 833, which is six years
 “ later than our computation. Eusebius, in
 his Chronical Canon, makes the age of Car-
 thage to be 640 years according to some, and
 748 according to others; Κατα τούτους τους
 χρονους εαλω Καρχηδων το ισχαιον υπο Σιηπιονος
 Αφρικανου του νεου, εχουσα ητη χμ απο κλισιως, κατω
 δε αλλους ψμη. From 4568 take 748, and the
 year of the building of Carthage will be
 3820, which is five years sooner than we
 have supposed. The various computations
 of these great chronologers differ so little
 from that which we have made, that we may
 venture to affirm, that the year which we
 have assigned to the building of Carthage,
 cannot be far from the truth.

Thus we have produced the facts, by
 which the chronology of Dido’s flight is
 settled,

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settled, which the learned Bochart had not leisure to produce: it remains now for us to examine at what time Troy was destroyed; which, for want of records of equal authority, may perhaps not be so easily determined. That the time of the Trojan war, by the common consent of chronologers, was some centuries before the flight of Dido, must be acknowledged. It is incumbent upon us therefore to consider the principles from which the Greeks deduced their ancient chronology: and if we find them to have been rightly grounded, we must confess that Virgil was guilty of the Anachronism for which he has been censured by the common consent of the learned. The destruction of Troy is the famous epoch, to which the Grecians referred their accounts of time, with regard both to their own affairs, and those of other nations: and yet they do not agree among themselves about the time when this remarkable event happened. It would take up too much time to enumerate their several discordant opinions: and therefore let us content ourselves at present with the computation, which Diodorus Siculus has given

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given us. This celebrated author tells us in his Preface, that the times preceding the Trojan war are so obscure, that he is not able to affirm any thing with certainty concerning them: that from the Trojan war to the return of the Heraclides, he computes 80 years; from that period to the first Olympiad 328, reckoning by the reigns of the kings of Lacedaemon: and from the first Olympiad to the beginning of Caesar's war in Gaul 730 years; so that his whole History contains a space of 1138 years, exclusive of the times preceding the Trojan war. According to this computation, which is generally followed by chronologers, the destruction of Troy was about 300 years before the flight of Dido from Tyre. Diodorus tells us himself, that in his computations he followed Apollodorus the Athenian. Plutarch, in the beginning of his life of Lycurgus, tells us, that Eratosthenes and Apollodorus computed the times from the reigns of the kings of Lacedaemon. These authors lived in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, to whom the former was librarian; above an hundred years after the death of Alexander the Great.

C

They

They could not possibly have any certain intelligence from the Grecian historians before their time, whereon to found their chronology. Josephus tells us, that they had no author older than Homer; that even his poems were not at first committed to writing; but only recited by memory: and that their most ancient historians were Cadmus Milesius, Acusilaus, &c. who did not write long before the expedition of the Persians against Greece. Besides these ancient authors had no certain way of reckoning by years; but digested their annals according to the generations of men, reigns of kings, and successions of priests. By this way of computing they stretched their accounts of time far beyond the truth; for observing that three generations of men make 100 years; they supposed the reigns of kings to be equal to generations, in which they were manifestly mistaken, as Sir Isaac Newton has abundantly proved. It appears from Diodorus and Plutarch, that Eratosthenes and Apollodorus had no other way of settling the time between the return of the Heraclides and the first Olympiad than by the kings of Lacedaemon.

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daemon. Sir John Marsham observed, this way of computing was very precarious; and therefore thought it safer to adhere to the Arundelian marble, than to the conjectures of Eratosthenes: though at the same time he acknowledges that he cannot tell upon what grounds the numbers of the marble are computed; “*Sed nec ipse edicere queo*” “*qua ratione confurgat marmoris numerus:*” “*penes auctorem sit calculi fides.*” Indeed it does not appear, that the authority of this famous marble is much more to be depended on than the conjectures of Eratosthenes, with regard to the more ancient times; since it was composed 60 years after the death of Alexander, and does not once mention the Olympiads; by which it appears that reckoning by the Olympiads was not then admitted into the Greek chronology. But Sir Isaac Newton has demonstrated, that the time of the Trojan war is not near so ancient, as the chronologers have imagined. That great man having considered the ancient sphere, which was composed for the use of the Argonauts, observes that the two colures, which in the time of the Argonautic

20 DISSERTATION I.

expedition, cut the ecliptic in the cardinal points, did in the end of the year 1689, cut it at the distance of one sign, six degrees, and twenty nine minutes from the cardinal points of Chiron, as nearly as can be determined from the coarse observations of the ancients: and therefore that the cardinal points, in the time between that expedition and the end of the year 1689, have gone back from those colures, one sign, 6 degrees, and 29 minutes, which after the rate of 72 years to a degree, answers to 2627 years. According to this computation the Argonautic expedition was in the year before Christ 937. From this and several other astronomical observations, added to other arguments taken from the mean length of the reigns of kings, according to the course of nature, our great author concludes, that the Argonautic expedition was after the death of Solomon, and probably that it was about 43 years after it. Solomon died in the year before Christ 979. The chronicle of Thrasyllus, quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, reckons 32 years from the Argonautic expedition, to Theseus and the Minotaur: 10 to the seven
who

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who warred at Thebes : 3 to the Olympic game instituted by Hercules for Pelops : 9 to the war of the Amazons against Athens, and the rape of Helen by Theseus : 11 to the apotheosis of Hercules : and 4 to the rape of Helen by Paris. Take these numbers together, and we shall find $32+10+3+9+11+4=69$. To these if we add the 20 years, which passed between the rape of Helen and the taking of Troy, we shall find 89 years between the Argonautic expedition and the taking of Troy ; which is the time assigned also by Eusebius. According to this account the fall of Troy will be 40 years later than the flight of Dido, which is impossible. But a very small inquiry will satisfy us, that such a number of years cannot be supposed to have intervened between these famous events. Castor and Pollux were Argonauts ; and their sister Helen was stolen by Theseus just before that expedition, according to Apollonius, being then seven, or, as some say, ten years old. Let us suppose her to have been no more than seven at that time : she must then have been no less than 76, when Paris stole her, according to the computa-

22 DISSERTATION I.

tion of Thrasyllus ; a most unparalleled piece of gallantry in a gay young prince, celebrated for the beauty of his person. Several of the heroes, who warred at Troy, were sons of Argonauts ; and therefore must have been old men at the taking of that city, if it was taken 89 years after their fathers were able to bear arms. Sir Isaac Newton, following the computation of Herodotus, that three generations of men are equivalent to 100 years, and considering that the Trojan war was one generation later than the expedition of the Argonauts, supposes the space of time between the Argonauts and the fall of Troy to be about 33 years. If this computation is just, the Trojan war ended about the year before Christ 904. It was the seventh year after that city was destroyed, when Aeneas came to Carthage ; that is in 897, whereas it should rather be in 888, a year after Dido fled thither. Thus this mighty chronological error of Virgil is reduced from about three hundred years, to no more than nine. But if we consider, that most of the Argonauts were young men at the time of their expedition, we shall be apt to think, that

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that the 33 years ought to belong rather to the beginning than to the end of the Trojan war. This being supposed, the rape of Helen will be 23 years after the Argonautic expedition, when she was about 30, and the destruction of Troy 20 years afterwards, about 894 or 895 years before Christ. In the seventh year after Troy was taken, Aeneas came to Carthage; that is, about the year 888, which is just one year after Dido came thither. It is not possible to be exact to a year; but I think the error cannot be considerable. The impartial reader however will I hope be satisfied, that Aeneas and Dido might be contemporaries, that it is no offence against true chronology, to suppose that Aeneas might come to Carthage soon after Dido began to build it, and consequently that Virgil is acquitted of the crime laid to his charge. Had Sir Isaac Newton undertaken professedly to justify Virgil, we might have suspected, that he was blinded by a partiality to that great Poet. But as that is far from being the case, we must look upon him as an impartial judge in this controversy; and may ob-

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serve with pleasure, that as Sir Isaac Newton has, though undesignedly, justified Virgil, so the authority of that noble poet is a confirmation of the amendment of ancient chronology, which has been made by our great philosopher.

It is plain, that Virgil designs to be exact in his chronology, by his marking not only the year, but the very time of the year, when Aeneas arrived at Carthage.

“ Nam te jam septima portat
 “ Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus
 “ aestas.” Aen. I. 755.

It may be said indeed that *aestas* is frequently used for a *year*: it is true; but then it appears from other circumstances, that it was in summer that Aeneas landed in Africa.

There is a passage in the first book of the Aeneis, though none of the criticks I believe has taken notice of it in that view, which proves that Aeneas landed in that season.

“ Tres

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- “ Tres litore cervos
 “ Prospicit errantes : hos tota armenta se-
 “ quuntur
 “ A tergo, et longum per valles pascitur
 “ agmen.
 “ Constitit hic, arcumque manu celeresque
 “ sagittas
 “ Corripuit; fidus quae telagerebat Achates :
 “ Ductoresque ipsos primum, capita alta fe-
 “ rentes
 “ Cornibus arboreis sternit. v. 184, &c.

It is in the summer that the male deer feed separately from the females, and are fit to kill. About the middle of September with us, the males leave their companions, and accompany each his respective female. This association lasts a month; after that the males are lean and timorous, and hide themselves. In the warmer countries the time of rutting seems to be something later. Our great Harvey, to whose exercitation *de Cervarum et Damarum coitu* I refer the learned reader, says he was informed, that in Spain they seldom begin to couple before October, when the rains usually begin. Pliny says,

“ Conceptus

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“ Conceptus earum post Arcturi sidus ;” by which I suppose he means the latter end of October, when Arcturus sets in the evening, according to Columella. From these circumstances we may reasonably conclude, that it was summer, when Aeneas found these herds of stags marching in the height of their strength and jollity, bearing their heads aloft, and expanding their branched horns.

DISSER-

DISSERTATION II.

Of the four introductory lines to the Aeneis.

MANY editions of the Aeneis begin thus ;

Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus
avena.

Carmen ; & egressus sylvis, vicina coegi
Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono :
Gratum opus agricolis : at nunc horrentias
Martis

Arma virumque cano, &c.

These lines are generally said to have been written by Virgil himself, and expunged by Tucca and Varius, to whom the care of the Aeneis was committed by Augustus Caesar, after the death of Virgil, with a positive injunction not to add any thing to that divine work. They seem indeed to have some affinity to the conclusion of the Georgicks, wherein Virgil asserts himself to be
the

28 DISSERTATION II.

the author of that work, and of the Bucolics also;

Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti:
Carmina qui lusi pastorum, audaxque juven-
ta,
Tityre te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.

But the stile does not appear to be the same; for they are much less simple, and crowded with epithets, and affected ornaments. Servius however affirms, that Virgil did really begin with them, and that they were taken away by Tucca and Varius. Pierius contends for their being genuine; and yet he confesses, that not so much as one of the more ancient manuscripts begins with them. He says, that in some they are prefixed at a distance; but in most of them they are not so much as mentioned. Fabricius makes no question of their being genuine. Heinsius declares no less positively against them; and wonders that Pierius should admit them, when they are wanting in all the ancient manuscripts, and particularly

DISSERTATION II. 29

cularly in the Medicean, which is worth all the rest. He affirms that he must be a mere stock, who does not perceive that these lines are unworthy of the majesty of Virgil. He says it is plain, that Ovid understands the divine Aeneis to have begun with *Arma virumque cano*, by that mention of it in his second book *de Tristibus* :

Et tamen ille tuae felix Aeneidos auctor
 Transtulit in Tyrios *arma virumque* toros :

and that this is confirmed also by Persius, who speaking of Virgil, in his first satire, says

Arma virum, nonne hoc spinosum ?

and by Martial, in his eighth book ;

Protinus Italiam concepit, et *arma virumque*.

He quotes also several other passages to the same purpose. The four lines however in question are kept in, as being genuine, in the Paris edition of 1600 in folio, and also by Robert Stephens, Pulman, Guellius and La Cerda ; and are admitted as such by the
old

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old French translators, des Mafures, and de Marolles; and by several of our own translators, as Phaer, Stanyhurst, Sandys, Vicars, and Ogilby. Segrais contends for them, and declares that in his opinion they are worthy of Virgil; and that he has not perceived, in any part of our author's works, any thing more sweet, more clear and more easy. In most of the editions we find them placed at a distance; as in that of Vicenza in 1476, in the folio editions of Milan in 1481, and Venice in 1562, in the quarto editions of Paris, in 1540 and 1541, and in the old London edition by Pynson. The same is done by a Meyen and Masvicius; and also by the Italian translator Annibal Caro, and by the French translator de Martignac. Ruæus also puts them at a distance, in compliance with the general custom; though he seems to doubt of their being genuine, and does not vouchsafe so much as one note upon them. His learned countryman Catrou, who also places them at a distance, reduces the whole controversy to these three questions; 1. Are they Virgil's own, or added by another hand? 2. If they were

DISSERTATION II. 31

were his, ought they not to be retrenched?

3. Are they commonly found in the manuscripts of the Latin poet? To the first he makes no scruple to answer, that they are incontestably genuine, and that he prefixed them to his *Aeneis*; because this is affirmed by the author of his life; and because they are inserted, though at a distance, in the best manuscripts. But we may object, that the authority of the writer of Virgil's life is far from being incontestable: and surely the learned Father forgets, when he affirms that these verses are to be found in the best manuscripts; for we have seen already, that both Pierius and Heinſius have affirmed the very contrary. To the second he answers, that Varius certainly did well in retrenching them; for the beginning with *Arms and the Man I ſing* has a majestic simplicity, which is lost in the preamble: it also bears a greater resemblance to the beginning both of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; whence he concludes, that Virgil himself would have rejected them, if he had lived. But surely these just reasons for rejecting the preamble, are no mean proofs, that it was never written by Virgil.

To

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To the third he answers, but erroneously, as has been already observed, that these verses are to be found in all the manuscripts, though at a distance from the rest. Burman rejects them, and is of opinion that they are ancient indeed, but not Virgil's. Cunningham does not so much as mention them: nor are they at all taken notice of in the old French translation, printed at Paris in 1540, or in the old Scottish one by Gawen Douglas, bishop of Dunkel. They are omitted also by most of our more modern translators; as Lauderdale, Dryden, the anonymous translator in 4to. 1688, Brady, Trapp, Pitt, and Strahan. "I have omitted," says Dryden, "the four preliminary lines of the Aeneid, because I think them inferior to any four others, in the whole poem; and consequently believe they are not Virgil's. There is too great a gap betwixt the adjective *vicina* in the second line, and the substantive *arva* in the latter end of the third, which keeps his meaning in obscurity too long: and is contrary to the clearness of his style. *Ut quamvis avidis* is too ambitious an ornament to be his, and

DISSERTATION II. 33

“ and *Gratum opus agricolis* are all words
 “ unnecessary, and independent of what he
 “ had said before. *Horrentia Martis arma*
 “ is worse than any of the rest. *Horrentia*
 “ is such a flat epithet, as Tully would
 “ have given us in his verses. ’Tis a meer
 “ filler, to stop a vacancy in the hexame-
 “ ter, and connect the preface to the work
 “ of Virgil. Our author seems to sound a
 “ charge, and begins like the clangour of a
 “ trumpet:

“ *Arma virumque cano, Trojae qui primus*
 “ *ab oris.*

“ Scarce a word without an R, and the
 “ vowels for the greater part sonorous. The
 “ Prefacer began with *Ille ego*, which he
 “ was constrained to patch up in the fourth
 “ line with *at nunc*, to make the sense co-
 “ here. And if both these words are not
 “ notorious botches, I am much deceived,
 “ though the French translator thinks other-
 “ wise. For my own part, I am rather of
 “ the opinion, that they were added by
 “ Tucca and Varius, than retrenched. I
 D “ know

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“ know it may be answered by such as think
 “ Virgil the author of the four lines ; that
 “ he asserts his title to the *Aeneïs*, in the
 “ beginning of this work, as he did to the
 “ two former, in the last lines of the fourth
 “ Georgic. I will not reply otherwise to
 “ this, than by desiring them to compare
 “ these four lines with the four others ;
 “ which we know are his, because no poet
 “ but he alone could write them. If they
 “ cannot distinguish creeping from flying,
 “ let them lay down Virgil, and take up
 “ Ovid *de Ponto* in his stead. My master
 “ needed not the assistance of that prelimi-
 “ nary poet to prove his claim. His own
 “ majestick mien discovers him to be the
 “ king, amidst a thousand courtiers. It
 “ was a superfluous office, and therefore I
 “ would not set those verses in the front of
 “ Virgil, but have rejected them to my own
 “ preface.

“ *I, who before, with shepherds in the groves,*
 “ *Sung to my oaten pipe their rural loves,*
 “ *And issuing thence, compell'd the neighb'ring*
 “ *field*
 “ *A plenteous crop of rising corn to yield,*
 “ *Manur'd*

DISSERTATION II. 35

" *Manur'd the glebe, and stock'd the fruitful*
" *plain,*

" (*A poem grateful to the greedy swain*), &c.

" If there be not a tolerable line in all these
" six, the prefacer gave me no occasion to
" write better."

D 2 DISSER-

DISSERTATION III.

Of Aeneas's Character.

AENEAS was the son of Venus by Anchises, who was the son of Capys, the son of Assaracus, the son of Tros, the son of Eriethonius, the son of Dardanus, the son of Jupiter. Thus he was the son of a goddess, and, by his father's side, the seventh from Jupiter. Ilus was the elder brother of Assaracus; the son of Ilus was Laomedon, the father of Tithonus; and his son was Priamus, who reigned over Troy, during the famous Trojan war, and was the father of that great hero Hector. Therefore Aeneas was third cousin to Priamus king of Troy. The old prophecies had declared, that the Trojan sceptre should devolve to the hands of Aeneas; which caused Priamus, who had a numerous issue, to look upon him with a jealous eye. Piety was the most shining part of his character: and therefore we find him, in all dangers, the particular

DISSERTATION III. 37

particular care of the gods, even of Neptune himself, who was one of the most adverse deities to Troy. But though piety was his principal character; yet he was by no means deficient in military glory. In the second Iliad, we find him, in the next place to Hector, marching at the head of the Dardans. In the fifth he opposes the valiant Diomedes, and defends the dead body of his friend Pandarus, with great courage: in this encounter, having received an incurable wound, he is carried out of the field by Venus and Apollo, is healed by the assistance of two deities, returns to the battle, makes a terrible slaughter; and does not retreat, till two great heroes, Menelaus and Antilochus jointly oppose him. In the twentieth, when Achilles returns to the field, full of rage and vengeance for the loss of his beloved Patroclus, Aeneas is not afraid to enter the lists with this greatest of all heroes, and teaches even him to fear; though Homer tells us he had no reason, being secured by celestial arms:

Ἦ γὰρ, καὶ ἐν δεινῷ σάκει ἤλασε χαλκῆος ἐγχος,
 Σμερδαλέω, μέγα δ' ἀμφὶ σάκος μύκε δούρος ἀκωνή

D 3

Πηλεΐδης

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Πηλείδης δὲ σακος μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ χειρὶ παχέϊα
 ἔσχετο τάρβησας. Φαίῳ γὰρ δολιχοσκιον ἔγχος
 Ρεῖαδ' ἐλευσεσθαι μεγάλῃσος Αἰνεῖαο·
 Νηπίος, οὐδ' ἐνόησε κατὰ φρενα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,
 ὧς οὐ γηιδί ἐστί θένων ἐρικυδέα δῶρα
 Ἀνδρασι γέ θνητοῖσι δαμήμεναι, οὐδ' ὑποσκεῖν.
 Οὐδὲ τὸτ' Αἰνεῖαο δαιφρονος ὀβριμον ἔγχος
 Ρήξε σακος· χρυσος γὰρ ἐρυκακε, δῶρα θεοῖο·
 Ἀλλὰ δύω μὲν ἐλάσσε διὰ πύλας, αἰδ' ἀρ' εἰς τρεῖς
 ἦσαν· ἐπεὶ πρῆλε πύλας ἤλασε Κυλλοποδίων,
 Τας δύο, χαλκείας, δύο δ' ἐνδοθὶ κασσίεροιο,
 Τὴν δὲ μίαν, χρυσεὴν· τῇ δ' ἔσχετο χαλκεον ἔγχος.

“ He spoke. With all his force the javelin
 “ flung,
 “ Fix’d deep, and loudly in the buckler
 “ rung.
 “ Far on his out-stretch’d arm, Pelides held,
 “ To meet the thund’ring lance, his dread-
 “ ful shield,
 “ That trembled as it stuck; nor void of
 “ fear
 “ Saw, e’er it fell, th’ immeasurable spear.
 “ His fears were vain; impenetrable charms
 “ Secur’d the temper of th’ aetherial arms.
 Through

DISSERTATION III. 39

“ Through two strong plates the point its
 “ passage held,
 “ But stopp’d, and rested, by the third re-
 “ pell’d;
 “ Five plates of various metal, various
 “ mold,
 “ Compos’d the shield; of brass each
 “ outward fold,
 “ Of tin each inward, and the middle gold:
 “ There stuck the lance.” Pope.

Achilles was not fated to die so soon; and therefore Neptune, out of regard to the piety of Aeneas, parts the combatants, advises him to avoid Achilles for the future, and declares, that no other Grecian is superior to him. Virgil therefore had good reason to pitch upon Aeneas for his hero, as he was second in valour and strength to none, but the invincible Achilles, and superior to all in piety.

The poet however has been accused of representing Aeneas in a condition very unbecoming the character of a hero, in the very opening of the poem (a). It is unworthy, say

(a) “ *Extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra.*
 “ *Ingenuit, et duplices tendens ad fidera pal-*
 “ *mas,*” &c.

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say some criticks, of such a person to tremble and shiver with cold at the approach of death. But let us consider, that the most distinguishing character of Aeneas is his piety. In the present case, an unusual tempest is raised against him; such an one as might well be supposed to be owing to the anger of some deity. It therefore became a *pious* hero, whom no mortal could terrify, to tremble at the wrath of heaven. Besides it plainly appears, that it was not death that Aeneas feared, but the manner of dying. Many of the ancients were of opinion, that the soul of man, being of a firey nature, was quenched by the person's dying in the water. It was universally accounted an obscure, inglorious death; whereas a man of courage would choose to die gloriously in the field. Thus Aeneas laments, not that he is now in danger of dying, but that he did not die honourably, in the Trojan plain, by the hand of a most renowned hero: he is so far from wishing for life; that he even envies those who fell nobly, in the defence of their country. Thus Ulysses laments his not
 having

DISSERTATION III. 41

having fallen in the glorious contest for the
body of Achilles.

Τρις μακαρες Δαναοι και τετρακις οι τοτ' ολοντο
Τροην εν ευρειη χαριν Αλρειδησι φεροντες,
Ως δη εγωγ' οφελον θανεειν και ποθμον επισπειν
Ημασι τω οδε μοι πλειςτοι χαλκηρεα δουρα
Τρωες επερριψαν περι Πηλειωνι θανοντι·
Τω κ' ελαχον κλερων καιμεν κλεος ηγον Αχαιοι·
Νυν δε με λευγαλσω θανατω ειμαρτα αλωναι.

“ Happy! thrice happy! who in battle slain

“ Prest in Atrides' cause the Trojan plain:

“ Oh! had I dy'd before that well-fought

“ wall,

“ Had some distinguish'd day renown'd my

“ fall,

“ Such as was that, when show'rs of jav'lins

“ fled

“ From conqu'ring Troy around Achilles

“ dead;

“ All Greece had paid my solemn fun'ral

“ then

“ And spread my glory with the sons of men.

“ A shameful fall now hides my hapless head,

“ Un-wept, un-noted, and for ever dead!

Pope.

Thus

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Thus also, in the twenty first Iliad, Achilles himself, of whose undaunted courage no question can be made, when he was in danger of being overwhelmed by the waters of Xanthus, laments his misfortune no less pathetically than Aeneas, in the passage before us ;

Πολαμος δ' ὑπο γούνατ' ἑδάμνα
 Λαβρος, υπαίθα ρεων, κονίην δ' ὑπερεπίε ποδοίη·
 Πηλεΐδης δ' ὠμῶξεν ἰδὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρυν.
 Ζεὺ πάτερ, ὡς οὐλὶς με θεῶν ἐλπίσιν ὑπέστη
 Ἐκπολαμοιο σάωσαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τί πάθοιμι.
 Ἄλλος δ' οὐλὶς μοι τὸσον αἰλὶος οὐρανόων,
 Ἄλλα φίλῃ μήτηρ, ἢ με ψευδέσσιν ἐβέλγεν,
 Ἡ μ' ἐφαλό Τρώων ὑπὸ τείχει Δωρηκίων
 Λαίψηροισι δαεσθαι Ἀπολλώνος βέλεσσιν.
 Ὡς μ' ὀφελ' ἔκλωρ κτείνειν, ὅς ἐνθαδὲ τέτραφ' ἀριστος,
 Τῷ κ' ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἐπεφν', ἀγαθὸς δὲ κεν ἐξεναρίζε·
 Νυν δὲ με λευγαλέω θανάτῳ εἰμαρτο αἰλῶναι,
 Ἐρχθεντ' ἐν μεγάλῳ ποταμῷ, ὡς παῖδα συφορβόν,
 Ὄνρα τ' ἐναυλὸς ἀποέρσει χεῖμασι περὺνῃα.

“ Tired by the tides, his knees relax with
 “ toil ;

“ Wash'd from beneath him slides the slimy
 “ soil ;

“ When

DISSERTATION III. 43

- " When thus (his eyes on heav'n's expan-
 " sion thrown)
 " Forth bursts the hero with an angry groan.
 " Is there no God Achilles to befriend,
 " No power t' avert, his miserable end?
 " Prevent, oh Jove! this ignominious date,
 " And make my future life, the sport of fate.
 " Of all heav'n's oracles believ'd in vain,
 " But most of Thetis, must her son com-
 " plain;
 " By Phoebus darts she prophesy'd my fall,
 " In glorious arms before the Trojan wall.
 " Oh! had I dy'd in fields of battle warm,
 " Stretched like a hero, by a hero's arm!
 " Might Hector's spear this dauntless bosom
 " rend,
 " And my swift soul o'ertake my slaughter'd
 " friend!
 " Ah no! Achilles meets a shameful fate,
 " Oh how unworthy of the brave and great!
 " Like some vile swain, whom on a rainy
 " day,
 " Crossing a ford, the torrent sweeps away,
 " An unregarded carcass to the sea.

Pope.

Of

44 DISSERTATION III.

Of the same kind is that speech of Ajax, so much extolled by the criticks, wherein he prays Jupiter to dispel the darkness, in which the hosts were involved, and to destroy them in the face of day

“ ——— Lord of earth and air !

“ Oh king ! oh father ! hear my humble

“ pray’r :

“ Dispel this cloud, the light of heav’n re-

“ store ;

“ Give me to see, and Ajax asks no more.

“ If Greece must perish, we thy will obey,

“ But let us perish in the face of day !”

Pope.

Longinus quotes this passage, as a strong instance of the sublimity with which Homer expresses the sentiment of a hero. This is the true passion of an Ajax, says that celebrated critick, he does not pray for life, for that would have been beneath the character of a hero ; but finding his valour obscured and hindered by the darkness, he prays for light, that he may fall gloriously in the open day, and meet a death deserving of his courage,

DISSERTATION III. 45

courage, though Jupiter himself opposes him ;

“ Ουκ οχληρος αν ισως, ελαιρι, δοξαιμι, εν εις του Ποι-
 “ ηλου, και των ανθρωπινων παραθεμενος, του μαθειν χα-
 “ ριν, ως εις τα ηρωικα μεγαθη συνεμβαινειν εθιζει. Αχ-
 “ λυς αφνω. και νυξ απορος αυλω την των Ελληνων επι-
 “ χει μαχην· ειθα δη ο Αιας αμηχανων,

“ Ζευ πατερ, (φησιν) αλλα συ ευσται υπ' ηeros νιας Αχαιων,

“ Ποιησον δ' αιθρην, δος δ' οφθαλμοισιν ιδεσθαι·

“ Εν δε φαιει και ολεσσον.

“ Εστιν ως αληθως το παθος Αιαλος· ου γαρ ζην ευχεσται·

“ ην γαρ το αιημα του ηρωος ταπεινότερον· αλλ' επειδη

“ εν απρακτω σκαλει την ανδριαν εις ουδεν γενναιον ειχε

“ διαθεσθαι, δια ταυτ' αγανακτων, οι προς την μαχην

“ αργει, φως οι ταχις αλειςται, ως παντως της αρετης

“ ευρησων αξιον εν αφιον, και αυλω Ζευς ανηλατιηται.”

No less sublime is the speech here ascribed by Virgil to his hero. It would have been unworthy of that character, to have been terrified at the apprehension of death : but it was a truly heroical sentiment, to lament his being to die an obscure, and vulgar death, instead of losing his life gloriously, by the hand of a mighty hero, in the defence of his country.

Aeneas

46 DISSERTATION III.

Aeneas has been also accused of betraying his country with Antenor. “ When Troy
 “ was taken, says Servius, Menelaus re-
 “ membering, that both he and Ulysses had
 “ been preserved by the favour of Antenor,
 “ who entertained them, when they were
 “ in danger of being killed by Paris and
 “ other young men, made a return of the
 “ like protection, and sent him safe away :
 “ he, with his favourite Theano, and his
 “ sons Helicaon and Polydamas, and other
 “ companions, came into Illyricum where
 “ being received in a hostile manner by the
 “ Euganei and their king Valesus, after he
 “ had subdued them, he founded the city
 “ Padua : for he had been instructed by an
 “ oracle, to build a city in that place,
 “ where he should shoot a bird, *quo sagittis*
 “ *avem petisset* : and therefore, from this
 “ augury *ex avis petita auspicio*, he called
 “ the city *Petavium* or *Patavium*. These
 “ two are said by Livy to have betrayed the
 “ city ; which Virgil also touches transi-
 “ ently in ver. 488.

“ *Se quoque principibus permixtum agno-*
 “ *vit Achevis.*

“ But

DISSERTATION III. 47

“ But he does not mention the example
 “ of Antenor without cause, since many of
 “ the Trojans escaped the danger, as Capys,
 “ who took possession of Capua, and Hele-
 “ nus of Macedonia, and others, of Sardinia,
 “ according to Sallust; but with good rea-
 “ son, to avoid an objection, that Aeneas
 “ was justly troubled, as a betrayer of his
 “ country. Horace also excuses him, in
 “ his secular ode; *ardentem sine fraude Tro-*
 “ *jam*: that is, without treason: which ex-
 “ cuse carries some force with it, for it is
 “ not usual to make an excuse, where the
 “ affair is free from suspicion. But Siscu-
 “ ria says that Antenor alone was the trai-
 “ tor, which makes the example stronger.
 “ If a traitor reigns, why does a pious man
 “ wander? But Antenor is thought to have
 “ betrayed his country to the Greeks, be-
 “ cause he advised them to return Helen,
 “ entertained the ambassadors who came to
 “ demand her, and did not betray Ulysses,
 “ whom he discovered under the disguise of
 “ a beggar.”

But Servius, when he cites the authority
 of Livy, to prove that Aeneas and Antenor
betrayed

48 DISSERTATION III.

betrayed their country, is guilty of a very gross error. The historian does not mention any such thing: he says only, that the Grecians, when Troy was taken, forbore to offer any violence to them, on account of ancient hospitality, and because they had always persuaded their people to restore Helena; “ Jam primum omnium satis constat, “ Troja^a capta, in caeteros saevitum esse “ Trojanos, duobus, Aenea Antenoreque, “ et vetusti jure hospitii, et quia pacis, red- “ denda^eque Helenae semper auctores fue- “ runt, omne jus belli Achivos abstinu- “ isse.”

Antenor is represented as a wise old counsellor, in the seventh Iliad: he endeavours to persuade the Trojans to restore Helen with her treasures; and tells them, they cannot expect to prosper, because their cause is unjust;

Τοισιν δ' Ἀλκίνοω πεπνυμένος ηρχ' ἀγορεύει
Κεκλυτε μέν, Τρῶες, καὶ Δαρδάνοι, ἡδ' ἐπικούροι,
Ὅφρ' εἰπω τὰ με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει,
Δεῦτ' ἀγέτ' Ἀργεῖην Ἑλενην καὶ κτήμαθ' αὐτῇ
Δωρομὲν Ἀτρίδῃσιν ἀγειν· νῦν δ' ὀρκία πάτρα

Ψεύσανμενος

DISSERTATION III. 49

Ψευσαμενοι μαχομεσθα· τω ου νυ τι κερδιον ημιν
Ελπομαι εκλεεσθαι, ινα μη ρεζομεν ωδε.

“ Antenor rising, thus demands their ear:
“ Ye Trojans, Dardans, and auxiliars hear!
“ ’Tis heav’n the counsel of my breast in-
“ spires,
“ And I but move what ev’ry god requires:
“ Let Sparta’s treasures be this hour restor’d,
“ And Argive Helen own her ancient Lord.
“ The ties of faith, the sworn alliance broke,
“ Our impious battels the just gods provoke.
“ As this advice ye practise, or reject,
“ So hope success, or dread the dire effect.”

Pope.

We find here, that he is a just and pious man, and not afraid of declaring the truth, even in the presence of Paris himself, who occasioned the beginning and continuance of the war. The story therefore of his treacherous behaviour is not very probable; for a man of piety and justice is incapable of conspiring with the enemy to destroy his country, how imprudent or unjust soever a war may be, in which it is unhappily engaged.

E

Some

50 DISSERTATION III.

Some criticks think also that Aeneas offends against his general character of piety, by making a question whether any deities regard the pious (*a*). But *si* does not always imply a doubt; but on the contrary is used for a strong affirmation. Thus, at the beginning of the first Georgick, the Poet does not make any question, whether Bacchus and Ceres were the inventors of corn and wine,

“ Liber et alma Ceres, vestro *si* munere
“ tellus

“ Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista,
“ Poculaque inventis Acheloïa miscuit
“ uvis:”

or whether Pan had a regard for his own Maenalus;

“ Pan ovium custos, tua *si* tibi Maenala
“ curae,
“ Adfis, o Tegeae, favens:”

but

(*a*) “ Dii tibi, si qua pios respectant numina,
“ si quid
“ Usquam justitiae est, et mens sibi conscia
“ resti,
“ Praemia digna ferant.

Aen. I. 603.

DISSERTATION III. 51

but evidently takes it for granted, that it was so without dispute. Thus, in the passage before us, Aeneas does not question there being gods who regard piety: but looking upon it as a thing past all controversy, assures Dido, that as it is impossible that the Divine nature should disregard piety, so she may rest satisfied, that heaven will reward her for her kindness to those who are not able to make her any recompence.

DISSERTATION IV.

*Of Anchises the Father, and Ascanius the Son
of Aeneas.*

ANCHISES the father of Aeneas was lineally descended from Dardanus the son of Jupiter. Tros, the grandson of Dardanus, had three sons, Ilus, Assaracus, and Ganymedes. Ilus was the grandfather of Priamus, and Assaracus of Anchises. He had an amour with the goddess Venus, who brought forth Aeneas on mount Ida, according to Homer ;

Δαρδανίων αὐτ' ἦρχεν εὐς παῖς Ἀγχισίας,
Αἰνείας, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀγχισίᾳ τέκε δ' Ἀφροδίτῃ,
Ἰδῆς ἐν κυήμοισι, θεὰ βροτῶν εὐνηθεῖσα.

“ Divine Aeneas brings the Dardan race,
“ Anchises’ son, by Venus’ stol’n embrace,
“ Born

DISSERTATION IV. 53

“ Born in the shades of Ida’s secret grove,
 “ A mortal mixing with the queen of love.”

Pope.

Thus also Hesiod ;

Αἰνεῖαν δ’ ἀρ’ εἰκ’ ἐν εὐσφ’ εὐφανος Κυθέρεια,
 Ἀγγίστη ἡρώι μίγξεισ’ ἐρατὴν φιλόητι
 Ἰδῆς ἐν κορυφῇσι πολυπύχου, ὕλησσης.

Hyginus adds, that Venus charged Anchises to keep this amour a secret ; but that having boasted of it among his friends in his cups, he was thunderstruck by Jupiter ;
 “ Venus Anchisam Aslaraci filium amasse,
 “ et cum eo concubuisse dicitur, ex quo
 “ procreavit Aeneam: eique praecepit, ne
 “ id apud homines enunciaret. Quod Anchises inter sodales per vinum est elocutus, ob id a Jovi fulmine est ictus ; quidam dicunt eum sua morte obisse.” The same author mentions Anchises amongst those, who were most celebrated for their beauty. Servius relates, that he was deprived of his sight : but this is contradicted by Virgil himself, in the second book, who

54 DISSERTATION IV.

mentions his being thunderstruck ; but yet speaks of him as having the use of his eyes ;

“ ——— Genitorque per umbram

“ *Prospiciens* : Nate, exclamat, fuge nate :

“ propinquant :

“ *Ardentes clypeos, atque aera micantia*

“ cerno.”

(a) Ascanius was the son of Aeneas. He was probably so called from a river of Phrygia of the same name.

Virgil plainly enough tells us, why Ascanius was surnamed Ilus : it was, it seems, from Ilium or Troy. But why Ilus is now altered to Iulus is not so plain. Servius indeed tells us from Cato's history, that Ascanius slew Mezentius, when the down, which the Greeks call *ιουλος* first began to appear on his chin ; and that he was therefore called Iulus. That *ιουλος* had this signification, appears from a passage in the eleventh Odysssey, where

(a) At puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo
Additus, Ilus erat dum res stetit Ilia regno.

Aen. I. 267.

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where the poet tells us that the two young giants, Otus and Ephialtes were slain by Apollo, before their chins were covered with down;

— Πριν σφωιν υπο κροταφοισιν Ιουλου
Ανθσαι· πρυκασαίτε γενυν ενανθει λαχνη.

But La Cerda greatly errs, when he affirms upon the authority of Pliny, *lib. 16. c. 29.* that *iulus* signifies the same with *lanugo arborum*: for that author does not say any such thing; the words in the place referred to “being these; “*Ferunt et avellanae iulos* “*compactili callo, ad nihil utiles.*” The *iuli* here spoken of are, without doubt, what we call the catkins, or male flowers of the hazle, which Pliny says are *ad nihil utiles*, because the use of these parts was unknown to the ancients. I mention this the rather, because I find, that some of the Dictionaries have followed La Cerda in this error. But to return to Servius, the story of Mezentius being killed by Ascanius, is a direct contradiction to Virgil himself, who affirms, that he was slain by Aeneas. Besides, if

56 DISSERTATION IV.

Mezentius had really been slain by Ascanius, that action was not yet performed. Why then does Jupiter say, *cui nunc cognomen Iulo*? Perhaps this surname was now given him, because in so tender an age, even before the down appeared on his chin, he followed his great father through so many difficulties and dangers.

DISSER.

DISSERTATION V.

Of the other Heroes introduced in the Aeneis.

(a) ORONTES seems to have been commander of the Lycians, who adhered to Aeneas, and therefore were distinguished by the title of faithful. He was one of those, whose loss the hero particularly lamented ;

“ Praecipue pius Aeneas, nunc acris *Orontei*,
“ Nunc Amyci casum gemit.”

In the sixth book, he finds Orontes, whom he there calls leader of the Lycian navy, wandering in the infernal regions amongst those ghosts, whose bodies had not obtained sepulchral honours ;

“ Cernit

(a) “ Unam quae Lycios fidumque vehebat
“ Orontem

“ Ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
“ In puppim ferit.”

Aen. I. 113.

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- “ Cernit ibi moestos, et mortis honore ca-
 “ rentes,
 “ Leucaspim, et Lyciae ductorem classis
 “ Orentem :
 “ Quos simul a Troja ventosa per aequora
 “ vectos
 “ Obruit auster, aqua involvens navemque
 “ virosque.”

(a) ILIONEUS was one of the chief commanders under Aeneas. He is called *Maximus*, in ver. 521 of the first book. He there acts as chief of the Trojans, in the supposed absence of Aeneas, and is their orator to Dido ;

- “ Maximus Ilioneus placido sic pectore
 “ coepit ;
 “ O Regina, &c.

and when Aeneas discovers himself, he gives his friend Ilioneus his right-hand ;

“ ——— Sic

- (a) “ Jam validam Ilionei navem, jam fortis
 “ Achatae ;
 “ Et qua vectus Abas, et qua grandaevus
 “ Alethes,
 “ Vicit hyems.” ——— Aen. I. 120.

“ ——— Sic fatus *amicum*

“ *Ilionea petit dextra.*”

He seems indeed to have been distinguished by his skill in oratory ; for when the Trojans had arrived in Italy, he was appointed ambassador to king Latinus, as we find in the seventh book ;

“ Dixerat : et dicta Ilioneus sic voce secutus ;

“ Rex, genus egregium Fauni, &c ;”

and we find that his rhetorick had a powerful effect on that monarch ;

“ Talibus Ilionei dictis, defixa Latinus

“ Obtutu tenet ora : soloque immobilis

“ haeret

“ Intentos volvens oculos.”

In the ninth book, he seems to have been a principal person in the camp, whilst Aeneas was gone to solicit the aid of Evander ; for he is joined with the son of Aeneas, in giving directions about the mother of Euryalus, when she was frantick with grief for the loss of her son ;

“ Illam

60 DISSERTATION V.

“ Illam intendentem luctus Idaeus et Actor
 “ Ilionei *monitu*, et multum lacrymantis
 “ Iuli,
 “ Corripiunt, interque manus sub tecta re-
 “ ponunt.”

Soon after, when the camp is assaulted by the enemy; he is the first that appears in the defence of it;

“ Ilioneus faxo, atque ingenti fragmine
 “ montis
 “ Lucetium portae subeuntem, ignesque fe-
 “ rentem :
 “ Emathiona Liger, Chorinaeum sternit Asi-
 “ las.”

ACHATES has in two places* the epithet of *valiant*; and in the tenth Aeneid, he is honoured with the name of the great Achates. But Fidelity is his distinguishing character; and accordingly he is frequently spoken of with the title of *faithful*. Hence Virgil has been censured for representing

* Aen. I. 120, and 579.

DISSERTATION V. 61

Achates, as a dull unmeaning character, having no other virtue, than that of being always at his master's elbow: and we are told, that whenever he is mentioned, we hear nothing more of him, than his being *fidus Achates*. But these criticks carry their censure too far: we find the name of Achates no less than twenty times, and the epithet *fidus* is added only in six places; and these are chiefly in the latter part of the work: whence it is probable, that if Virgil had lived to finish the *Aeneis*, this epithet might have been yet less frequently repeated. In the account of the storm, we find he was not in the same ship with Aeneas; but commanded one of his own. It may be observed also, that though his ship was much shattered by the storm, and had sprung a leak, yet this faithful friend kept up with his master, landed at the same time, and was the first to kindle a fire on shoar, which was a most necessary refreshment;

“ Ac primum filici scintillam excudit Achates.”

when

62 DISSERTATION V.

when Aeneas determines to go in search of the country, in which they were landed, he takes only Achates along with him ;

“ Ipse uno graditur comitatus Achate :”

and when he sends for his son to the court of Carthage, Achates is intrusted with that charge ; and flies swiftly to execute it,

“ ——— *Rapidum* ad naves praemittit
“ Achaten ;”

and

“ Haec *celerans* iter ad naves tendebat A-
“ chates.”

In the third book, we find an instance of his vigilance : he was the first that discovered the coast of Italy ;

“ ——— Italiam primus conclamat Achates.”

when Aeneas lands on the Cumean shoar, Achates is sent to bring the Sibyl to him ;

“ ——— Quin

DISSERTATION V. 63

- “ ———— Quin protinus omnia
“ Perlegerent oculis : ni jam praemissus
“ Achates
“ Afforet ; atque una Phoebi Triviaeque
“ sacerdos,
“ Deiphobe Glauci ;

and when they had received the answer of the prophets, which caused a deep melancholy in Aeneas, Achates attended closely upon him, and was partaker of his cares ;

- “ Aeneas moesto defixus lumina vultu
“ Ingreditur, linquens antrum, caecoque
“ volutat
“ Eventus animo secum : cui fidus Achates.
“ It comes, et paribus curis vestigia figit.”

In the eighth book, we find him accompanying Aeneas to the court of Evander ; and when the Tuscans march to his assistance, Achates appears, together with Aeneas, at the head of the Trojans ;

- “ Aeneas inter primos, et fides Achates
“ Inde alii Trojae proceres.”

However

64 DISSERTATION V.

However dull and unactive this fidelity of Achates may seem to some criticks : it will appear to the judicious a character not unattended with danger. In the heroick ages the close companions of a great prince were exposed to great hazards in war. Thus, in the tenth book, we find Achates attending Aeneas in the midst of a furious battle, and furnishing him with weapons ;

“ ——— Fidum Aeneas affatur Achaten ;
 “ Suggere tela mihi, non ullum dextera
 “ frustra
 “ Torserit in Rútulos, steterunt quae in
 “ corpora Graium
 “ Iliacis campis :”

and soon after we find him wounded by a dart thrown at Aeneas ;

“ Tum Numitor, jaculo fratris de corpore
 “ raptó,
 “ Aeneam petiit : sed, non et figere contra
 “ Est licitum : magnique femur perstrinxit
 “ Achatae.”

In

DISSERTATION V. 65

In the twelfth book, when Aeneas is treacherously wounded, Achates is one of those who take care of his person ;

“ Interea Aeneam Mnestheus, et fidus A-

“ chates

“ Ascaniusque comes, castris statuere cru-

“ entum,

“ Alternos longa nitentem cuspide gressus :”

and as soon as Aeneas returns to the fight, we see Achates not idly attending his prince, but warmly engaging in the battle ;

“ Ferit ense gravem Thymbraeus Osirim

“ Archetium Mnestheus, *Epulonem obtrun-*

“ *cat Echites,*

“ Ufentemque Gyas.”

ABAS is not mentioned in any other place, but in the account of the storm : for the Abas spoken of in ver. 286 of the third book, was a Grecian ; he who is twice mentioned in the tenth book, was a Tuscan.

ALETHES is represented by Virgil, as a person of great age, wisdom and fidelity. In the ninth Aeneid we find

F

—— Annis

66 DISSERTATION V.

“ ——— Annis gravis, atque animi matu-
“ rus Alethes ;

and soon after he is called *fidus Alethes*.

(a) We know very little of the character of ANTHEUS. He seems indeed to have been a man of considerable distinction : for when Aeneas unexpectedly meets his friends who had been missing, Antheus is mentioned first ;

“ Cum subito Aeneas concursu accedere
“ magno
“ *Anthea*, Sergestumque videt, fortemque
“ Cloanthum,
“ Teucrorumque alios ;”

and in the twelfth Aeneid, when Aeneas being miraculously healed of his wound,
rushes

(a) “ Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit, et
“ omnem
“ Prospectum late pelago petit, *Anthea* si qua
“ Iactatum vento videat, *Phrygia*sque bire-
“ mes,
“ Aut Capyn, aut celsis in puppibus arma
“ *Caici*.”

Aen. I. 180.

DISSERTATION V. 67

rushes forth to battle, Antheus is named the first of those who attend their prince on that great occasion ;

“ Haec ubi dicta dedit, portis sese extulit

“ ingens

“ Telum immane manu quatiens ; simul

“ agmine denso

“ *Antheusque, Mnestheusque ruunt.*”

CAPYS seems to have been a man of no mean quality among the Trojans. He was probably a near relation of Aeneas, and derived his name from Capys the grandfather of our hero. He is mentioned in the second Aeneid, as one of those wiser chiefs of the Trojans, who were for destroying the insidious engine, which the Greeks had erected to ruin the city ;

“ At Capys, et quorum melior sententia

“ menti,

“ Aut pelago Danaum insidias suspectaque

“ dona,

“ Praecipitare jubent, subjectivae urere flam-

“ mis,

“ Aut terebrare cavas uteri, et tentare late-

“ bras :”

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In the ninth book, we find him deeply engaged in the battle, and killing Privernus with his own hand. In the tenth, he is mentioned as one of the principal persons engaged in the defence of the walls; and we are there also told, that he was afterwards the founder of Capua, the capital of Campania;

“ Affuit et Mnestheus, quem pulsi pristina
“ Turni

“ Aggere murorum sublimem gloria tollit,

“ *Et Capys : hinc nomen Campanae ducitur*
“ *urbi.*”

The name of Capys was derived also to one of the Alban kings descended from Aeneas, as we find in the sixth Aeneid, ver. 768.

CAÏCUS was perhaps a Mysian, and derived his name from Caïcus, a noted river of the greater Mysia, a province not far from Troy. He is mentioned but twice, once in the first, and again in the ninth book, where he is described as a vigilant commander : for we find him upon the fortifications, and giving the Trojans the first
notice

DISSERTATION V. 69

notice of the approach of Turnus, and calling them to arms :

“ Primus ab adversa conclamat mole Caiçus :

“ Quis globus, o cives, caligine volvitur
“ atra ?

“ Ferte citi ferrum, date tela, scandite mu-
“ ros.

“ Hostis adest, eja. Ingenti clamore per
“ omnes

“ Condunt se Teucric portas, et moenia
“ complent.”

Three persons of the name of AMYCUS, are mentioned by the Poet ; one in the first book, as being supposed by Aeneas to be lost : and two killed by Turnus. One of them is said, in the ninth book, to have been a great hunter of wild beasts, and to have made use of poisoned darts ;

“ ——— Inde ferarum

“ Vastatorem Amycum, quo non felicior
“ alter

“ Ungere tela manu, ferrumque armare ve-
“ neno :”

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The other, in the twelfth book, is thrown from his horse, and slain together with his brother Dioreſ ;

“ Turnus equo dejectum Amyceum fratrem-
 “ que Diorem,
 “ Congreſſus pedes ; hunc venientem cu-
 “ ſpide longa,
 “ Hunc mucrone ferit : curruque abſciſſa
 “ duorum
 “ Suspendit capita, et rorantia ſanguine
 “ portat.”

There are two alſo named *LYCUS*, one thought to be loſt in the ſtorm in the firſt book, and another killed by Turnus in the ninth.

GYAS alſo and *CLOANTHUS* are afterwards mentioned among thoſe, who came ſafe on ſhore. It ſeems, that none of the perſons here mentioned were loſt, except *Orontes*. We ſhall find both *Gyas* and *Cloanthus* contending in the games, in the fifth book. *Cloanthus* alſo is one of the three, to whom *Aeneas* commits the care of making the fleet ready to ſail, in the fourth book.

SERGEſTUS

DISSERTATION V. 71

SERGESTUS was one of the chief leaders of the Trojans : for in the fourth book, we find him to be one of the three, to whom Aeneas intrusts the care of preparing the fleet, when he intended to flee from Carthage ;

“ Mnesthea, Sergestumque vocat, fortem-
“ que Cloanthum :

“ Classē aptent taciti, sociosque ad littora
“ cogant,

“ Arma parent; et quae sit rebus causa
“ novandis,

“ Dissimulent.”

In the fifth book, he is one of the four, who engage in the *Naumachium*, or mock sea fight; and we are there told, that the Sergian family were descended from him, as the Cluentian was from Cloanthus ;

“ Prima pares ineunt gravibus certamina
“ remis

“ Quatuor ex omni delectae classe carinae,
- - - - -

“ *Sergestusque*, domus tenet a quo Sergia
“ nomen

“ Centauro invehitur magna: Scyllaque
 “ *Gloanthus*,
 “ Coerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane
 “ Cluenti.”

In the twelfth book, he is one of the three chief leaders, whom Aeneas calls to him, when he takes a sudden resolution to storm the city.

“ ——— Aspicit urbem
 “ Immunem tanti belli, atque impune
 “ quietam.
 “ Continuo pugnae accendit majoris imago.
 “ Mnesthea, *Sergestumque* vocat, fortem-
 “ que Serestum
 “ Ductores.”

SERESTUS together with Mnestheus, was intrusted with the management of affairs during the absence of Aeneas.

“ ——— Instant Mnestheus, acerque Se-
 “ restus,
 “ Quos pater Aeneas, si quando adversa
 “ vocarent,
 “ Rectores juvenum, et rerum dedit esse
 “ magistratos.”

He

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He appears to have been one of the chief leaders, by his being so often mentioned together with Mnestheus; and by the epithet *acer*, which Virgil commonly bestows on him. In the twelfth book, he is one of the three whom Aeneas hastily calls to him, when he takes a sudden resolution of storming the town;

“ Mnesthea, Sergeſtumque vocat, fortem-

“ que Sereſtum

“ Ductores.”

DISSER-

DISSERTATION VI.

Of the Alban Kings (a).

VARRO, in his fourth book, *de Lingua Latina*, having told us, that Lavinium was the first city, that was built in Italy, by the ancestors of the Romans, adds that Alba was built thirty years afterwards ;

“ Oppidum quod primum conditum in
 “ Latio stirpis Romanae Lavinium ; nam
 “ ibi dii penates nostri. Hoc a Latini filia,
 “ quae

(a) “ At puer Ascānius cui nunc cognomen
 “ Iulo

“ Additur, Ilus erat, dum res fletit Ilia regno,
 “ Triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbes
 “ Imperio explebit, regnumque ab se de Lavini
 “ Trano feret, et longam multa vi munit Al-
 “ bam.

“ Hic jam tercentum totos regnabitur annos
 “ Gente sub Hectorea : donec regina sacerdos
 “ Marte gravis, geminam partu dabit Ilia pro-
 “ lem. Aen. I. 267.

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“ quae conjuncta Aeneae, Lavinia appellata. Hinc *post triginta annos* oppidum alterum conditur Alba.”

Dionysius also of Halicarnassus says, that Alba was built thirty years after Lavinium, that Ascanius carried thither a large colony, and that it was called Alba Longa from the form of its situation, to distinguish it from another city of the same name; Τριακοσίῳ δὲ ὑστερον εἰσι μέγα την κλισίαν του Λαουινίου, πόλιν ἑέραν οἰκίζει, κατὰ το γινόμενον Αἰνεία θεσφαλον, Ασκανίος ο Αἰνείου· καὶ μεταγεί τους τ' ἐκ Λαουινίου, καὶ των αλλων Λατίνων ὅσοις ἦν βουλομένοις ἀμεινον οἰκεῖν, εἰς την νεκχλισίον, ὀνομα τη πόλει θεμενος Ἀλβαν... ταφηνισμου διενεκα διοριζέται παρ' ἑέραν πόλιν ὁμωνυμου ἐπικλησει, του σχηματός ἐπικαληγορησει ἐστὶ δὲ ὥσπερ συνέλον ἡδη τουνομα ἐξ ἀμφοιν, Ἀλβα λογγα. Livy also assigns thirty years, as the space of time between the building of Lavinium, and the carrying of the colony to Alba Longa by Ascanius; “ Ascanius - - - novam ipse aliam “ sub Albano monte condidit, quae ab situ “ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata. Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam coloniam deductam triginta ferme “ interfuere anni.”

The

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The historians and chronologers do not so well agree with Virgil, in the three hundred years assigned to the reign of the Alban kings, as in the thirty years between the building of Lavinium and Alba Longa. Dionysius of Halicarnassus reckons four hundred and thirty two years from the taking of Troy to the building of Rome, which he says was in the second year of Numitor, in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, when Daicles gained the victory in the *stadium*, in the first year of the decennial archonship of Charopus; τω δ' ἐξῆς εἰς του Νομίω-
ρος αρχης, δευτέρω δε και τριακοσίω και τετρακοσιοσίω μεία
την Ιλιου αλωσιν, αποικιαν σπειλαῆες Αλβανοι, Ρομυλου
και Ρωμου την ηγεμονιαν αὐτης εχούτων, κίζουσι Ρωμην,
εἰς εὐεστώτος πρώτου της εβδόμης ολυμπιαδος, ην ενικα
σάδιον Δαικλης Μεσηνιος, αρχόντος Αθηνησι Χαροπου εἰς
της δεκαετίας πρώτον. There must be some mis-
take in the copies of Dionysius, for the
years of the reigns of the several kings taken
together amount to more than 432. He
begins the reign of Aeneas from the destruc-
tion of Troy, and allows to him 7 years,
to Ascanius 38, to Silvius 29, to Aeneas
the son of Silvius 31, to Latinus 51, to
Alba

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Alba 39, to Capetus 26, to Capys 28, to Calpetus 13, to Tiberinus 8, to Agrippa 41, to Alladius 19, to Aventinus 37, to Procas 23, and to Amulius 42, in all 442; to which if we add the two years of Numitor, we shall find the whole to be 444, that is 12 more than the gross sum which he had assigned. I believe the error lies in the particular reigns; for if we correct them according to the canon of Eusebius, we shall find the particulars to agree with the sum total assigned by Dionysius. According to Eusebius, Aeneas reigned 7 years, Ascanius 38, Silvius Posthumus 29, Silvius Aeneas 31, Latinus Silvius 50, Alba Silvius 39, Atys or Aegyptus 24, Capys 28, Calpetus 13, Tiberius Silvius 8, Agrippa Silvius 40, Aremulus Silvius 19, Aventinus Silvius 37, Procas Silvius 23, and Amulius Silvius 44, in all 430; to which if we add from Dionysius two years of Numitor, we shall have the exact number of 432. It must however be confessed, that Eusebius may probably contain the two years of Numitor in the 44 assigned to Amulius, which are two more than the number in Dionysius, and that

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that Eusebius places the founding of Rome a year sooner, that is, in the fourth of the sixth Olympiad: but the difference of a year or two is a very small matter in ancient chronology. Dionysius tells us, that Lavinium was built at the end of the second year after the destruction of Troy; *Λαβόντες δὲ τὸ χάριον οἰκίζουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ Λαουινίον, τοῦ δευτέρου ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐκπληρωσάντες ἐνιαυτὸν.* These two years, together with the thirty which passed between the building of Lavinium and Alba, taken from 432, will leave just 400 years for the reign of the Alban kings, a complete century more than the poet has assigned them. But let us examine which of these two accounts is the most probable.

Dionysius and Eusebius, as has been already observed, agree in allowing 432 years to the reign of 15 kings, which is about 29 years a-piece, one with another, which is too much by the course of nature: for Sir Isaac Newton has demonstrated, that *by the ordinary course of nature, kings reign, one with another about eighteen or twenty years a-piece.* According to this rule, we must allow no more than 300 years to the reign of the

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the fifteen kings, from the destruction of Troy to the building of Rome ; which is 130 years less than Dionysius and Eusebius have assigned them. Virgil, at the end of the first book, lets us know, that it was the seventh summer of the wandering of Aeneas, when he came to Carthage ;

“ ——— Nam te jam *septima* portat
 “ Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus
 “*aestas.*”

In the fifth book, Iris, in the shape of Beroë tells the Trojan women, that the seventh summer after the destruction of Troy is past ;

“ *Septima* post Trojae excidium jam verti-
 “*tur aestas.*”

It was therefore about eight years from the taking of that city, that Aeneas began to build Lavinium, where he reigned three years, as we are told in ver. 265 of the first book. Now if we add these numbers, 8 and 3 to the thirty which Ascanius reigned in Lavinium, we shall find 41 years, according

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cording to Virgil, from the taking of Troy
 to the building of Alba, and consequently
 341 from the same time to the building of
 Rome, which is almost 23 years a-piece for
 the fifteen reigns. Thus Virgil, in differ-
 ing from the prose writers, comes much
 nearer to probability, and instead of hav-
 ing too much contracted the reigns of the
 Alban kings, has rather too much enlarged
 them. But after all the chronology of Vir-
 gil may possibly be exact: for though Sir
 Isaac Newton has sufficiently proved, that
 the reigns of kings seldom exceed 18 or 20
 years a-piece; yet that great man allows,
 that this number is sometimes exceeded.
 For instance, he tells us himself, that "the
 " eighteen kings of Judah who succeeded
 " Solomon, reigned 390 years, which is
 " one with another 22 years a-piece:" also
 that "the thirty kings of England, Wil-
 " liam the Conqueror, William Rufus, &c.
 " reigned 648 years, which is 21 years and
 " a half a-piece." But in this account of
 the thirty kings, he reckons William III.
 and Mary as one reign, which seems hard-
 ly just; wherefore if we take in George I.

the

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the thirty reigns will amount to 661 years, which will make 22 years a-piece. Besides if we take the first 15 reigns from the Conquest, we shall find, that they amount to 395 years, or 26 years a-piece, a length of time hardly to be paralleled indeed, in any certain history, and above 50 years more than Virgil has assigned to the 15 Latin kings. These examples shew, that the poet did not go beyond the bounds of nature, in making the reigns of the 15 Latin kings to amount to 341 years. We may add, that Trogus, as he is epitomized by Justin, agrees with Virgil in allowing just 300 years between the foundation of Alba, and that of Rome; “In locum ejus Ascanius
“filius successit; qui Lavinio relicto, lon-
“gam Albam condidit, quæ *trecentis annis*
“caput regni fuit.”

DISSERTATION VII.

Of the Oenotrians and of Italy.

(a) THE OENOTRI were the first invaders of the country now called Italy, according to Cato and Sempronius, as they are cited by Dionysius of Halicarnassus; and came originally from Greece, many ages before the Trojan war. Dionysius observes, that if this account is true, they could be no other than Arcadians, who were the first of all the Greeks that passed over the Ionian sea, and settled in Italy, under the conduct of Oenotrus the son of Lycaon. He was the fifth from Aezeus and Phoroneus, who were

(a) “ Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine
“ dicunt:

“ Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere
“ glebae:

“ Oenotri coluere viri; nunc fama, minores

“ Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.”

Aen. I. 530.

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were the first that ruled in Peloponnesus : for Phoroneus was the father of Niobe, who had Pelasgus by Jupiter. Lycaon was the son of Aczeus, and his daughter Deianira, being married to Pelasgus, had another Lycaon, who begat Oenotrus, seventeen ages before the Trojan war. Lycaon divided Arcadia amongst his twenty-two sons : whereupon Oenotrus, finding his share too small, sailed into Italy, being accompanied by his brother Peucetius, and a great number of Grecians ; for the country was very populous. Peucetius, as soon as he landed, settled on the Iapygian promontory, whence the people of that part of Italy were called Peucetii. Oenotrus proceeded to the western part, then called Aufonia, and having extended his territory still farther, he changed the name of the country to Oenotria. He quotes also two ancient authors, Antiochus of Syracuse, and Pherecydes of Athens, who both affirm, that the Oenotrians were the ancient inhabitants of Italy, and that they obtained their name from this Oenotrus. Servius thinks that Oenotria had its name from *οινος*, *wine*, because

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cause that country abounded with the best wine. In this opinion he is followed by other commentators: but Cluverius, in his *Italia antiqua*, justly rejects it.

Many are of opinion, that ITALY had its name from bulls and cows, which were anciently called *ιταλοι*, of which mention has been made in a note on ver. 138 of the third Georgick. But the poet plainly affirms, that the ancient name of *Hesperia* was changed to *Italia*, by a leader, who gave his own name to the country. This is confirmed by Thucydides, who relates, that Italy had its name from Italus, a king either of the Arcadians, or Sicilians; *Εισ-
δε και νυν εστι εν τη Ιταλια Σικελοι, και η χωρα απο
Ιταλου βασιλεως, τινος Αρκαδων* [some read *Σικελων*]
τουνομα τουτο εχοντος, ουτως Ιταλια επωνομασθη. Antiochus of Syracuse, according to Dionysius, affirms that Italy was so called from Italus, an Oenotrian, a wise and good prince. But Hellenicus of Lesbos, according to the same author, will have it to have obtained its name from the cattle of Geryon, which Hercules drove through Italy. Dionysius justly prefers the former opinion, and adds, that both these
authors

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authors agree, that this country was called Italy, in the time of Hercules, or a little before : and that it was anciently called by the Greeks Hesperia and Ausonia, and by the inhabitants themselves Saturnia ; of all which names we shall find frequent mention in the Aeneis.

DISSERTATION VIII.

Of Byrsa and Cârthage (a).

VIRGIL relates the story of Byrsa according to the concurrent opinion of all the historians, who tell us, that when Dido landed in Africa, and was opposed by the ancient inhabitants, she desired leave to purchase of them only as much ground as an ox's hide would contain. When the agreement was made, she cut the hide into narrow thongs, and surrounded a large spot of ground,

(a) “ Devenere locos, ubi nunc ingentia cer-
“ nes

“ Moenia surgentemque novae Carthaginis
“ arcem :

“ Mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,

“ Taurino quantum possent circundare tergo.
Aen. I. 365.

“ Miratus molem Aeneas, magalia quondam:

“ Miratus portas, strepitumque et strata vi-
“ arum, &c. v. 421.

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ground. Servius says it was twenty-two furlongs, or two miles and three quarters in circumference. On this spot she built the citadel, which was called *Byrsa*, because *Byrsa* signifies a hide. It seems, however improbable, that a fortress built by Phenicians on the coast of Africa should derive its name from a Greek word. The modern opinion is much more probable, that *Byrsa* is a corruption of *בצרה* *Botrab*, which is derived from *בצר* *Botfar*, which signifies *to fortify*. Thus we read *הומה בצירה* *a fortified wall*, and *הערים בצורות* *fortified cities*. This *Byrsa*, according to Strabo, was a high tower, round which the inhabitants dwelt, having a temple of Aesculapius on the top, which was burnt by Asdrubal's wife together with herself, when the city was taken: *Κατα μωσὴν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἡ ἀκροπόλις ἣν ἐκαλοῦν Βυρσαν, ὁφθὺς ἰκανῶς ὀφθία, κυκλῶ περιτοικούμενη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν κορυφὴν ἔχουσα Ἀσκληπιεῖον, ὅπερ κατὰ τὴν ἀλώσειν ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα συνέπερσεν αὐτή.* Appian tells us, that *Byrsa* was the strongest part of the city; that they went up to it by three ascents from the market place; and that the houses were very high,

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and contiguous on both sides of the street :

Σκίτιων δ' ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Βυρσαν ἡ σπουδὴ· τὸ γὰρ οὐ-
 ρωτάτων τῆς πόλεως ἦν, καὶ οἱ πλείονες εἰς αὐτὴν συνεπε-
 φεύγεσαν· τριῶν δ' οὐσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνοδὼν εἰς αὐτὴν,
 οἰκίαι πυκναὶ καὶ ἐξοροφοὶ πανταχοθεν ἦσαν. We
 find also in the same author, that it must
 have been a considerable place ; since above
 fifty thousand retired into it, as a place of
 the greatest security ; that the temple of
 Aesculapius, in Byrsa, was the richest and
 most noble edifice of the whole city ; that
 they ascended to it by sixty steps ; and that
 nine hundred fugitives defended it for some
 time, after Byrsa itself was surrounded.
 This Byrsa therefore, being a place of such
 considerable extent and strength, is thought
 by many to be all the city that was built
 by Dido.

It is agreed, I think, by the learned, that
Magalia means the same with *Mapalia*,
 which were the tents of the wandering Afri-
 cans, or Numidians (a). Here then the
 sense of the poet in the first Aeneid seems
 to be very clear, that a noble city was rising
 on a spot of ground, which used to contain

(a) See notes on Georgick III. 339.

only

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only the huts of wandering shepherds. But then, in the fourth Aeneid, the *Magalia* are spoken of as a part of the city ;

“ Ut primum alatis tetigit *magalia* plantis
 “ Aeneam fundantem arces, ac tecta no-
 “ vantem
 “ Conspicit.”

Here Mercury finds Aeneas, busied, in building towers in the *magalia*. Servius tells us, that it ought to be *magaria*, because *magaria*, and not *magalia*, in the Carthaginian language signifies a town. We learn from Appian, that Megara was a very great part of Carthage, joined to the wall ; *χωριον δ' εστιν ευμεγεδες εν τε πολει τα Μεγαρα, τω τειχει παρ- ραζευγμενον*. This expression of being *joined to the wall* seems a little obscure ; but it is plain from what follows, that Megara was within the walls. Scipio, not being able to surmount the wall, observed a deserted tower, on the outside of the wall, and of the same height therewith, which he caused some daring young men to enter, who driving away the defendants with their darts,
 laid

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laid pieces of timber from the tower to the wall, which served them for a bridge to it, and so having gotten upon the wall they leaped down into Megara, hewed down the gate, and admitted Scipio, who, entering with four thousand men, drove the Carthaginians into Byrsa, as being in possession of the rest of the city; Κατα μὲν οὖν τὸ τεῖχος, οὐδὲν καίπερ ἐπιχειρῶν, ἤνυσεν· ἐς δὲ τινὸς ἰδιώτου πυργίου ἐρημοί, ἐκτὸς οὐτὰ τοῦ τεύχους, καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἴσους ὄντα τῷ τείχει, νεανίης ἀνεβίβασεν εὐτολμούς οἱ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τεύχων ἀκοντίοις ἀνεστέλλον· ξύλα τε καὶ σανίδας ἐς τὸ διάστημα ἐπιθέντες, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ τεύχη διαδραμύντες, καθήλατο ἐς τὰ Μεγάρα· καὶ πυλίδας κοψάντες, ἐδέχοντο τὸν Σκιπίωνα. Ὁ δὲ εἰσηλθεὶς μὲν συνανδράσι τετρακισχίλοις· καὶ φύγη ταχέια τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ἦν, ὡς τῆς ἀλλῆς πόλεως ἀλουσῆς. This part of the city was also full of gardens and orchards, fenced with hedges, and irrigated with winding rivulets: Το γὰρ χωρίον τὰ Μεγάρα ἐλαχάνευετο, καὶ φυτῶν ὡραίων ἐγίμην αἰμασίαις τε καὶ θρίγγυις βατοῦ, καὶ ἀλλοῖς ἀκανθοῖς, καὶ ὀχετοῖς βάθεσιν ὕδατος ποικίλοις τε καὶ σχολίοις καταπλεῶν ἦν. We find also, at the latter end of the book, that Byrsa and Megara constituted the city; for when the senate commanded Scipio to destroy Carthage,

it

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it is expressly ordered that no one should ever presume to rebuild either Byrsa or Megara ; Οἱ Καρχηδόνος μὲν, εἰτι περίλοιπον εἰτι ἦν, ἐκρίναν κατασκαψαὶ Σκιπίωνα· καὶ οἰκεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπεικὸν ἀπάσι, καὶ ἐπηράσαντο, μάλιστα περὶ τῆς Βυρσῆς, εἰτις οἰκῆσειεν αὐτὴν, ἢ τὰ καλουμένα Μεγάρα. According to Bochart, Megara is derived from the Hebrew גּוּר *gur* or גָּר *gar*, *habitare, diversari*, whence comes מִגּוּר *magur*, *habitatio*; and the Phenicians, varying the dialect, from מִגּוּר *magur* formed מִגָּר *magar*. We have seen then that the city of Carthage consisted of two parts, exclusive of the haven. The citadel called Byrsa, or perhaps rather *Bofra* or *Byfra*, which in the Phenician language signifies *a fortified place*, was the middle and strongest part, and was surrounded by the *Megara*, in which the bulk of the inhabitants had their dwellings. This *Megara* or rather *Magara*, or as Virgil writes it *Magalia*, in the Phenician language *Magur* or *Magar*, was so called because it was the habitation of the common citizens. It is highly probable, that the ancient inhabitants were shepherds dwelling in *Magaria* or tents, and unacquainted with architecture,

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ture, till Dido coming from Tyre introduced it among them. Hence the greater part of the city, which surrounded the citadel, was by the Carthaginians called *Magar*, which Aeneas employed himself in fortifying, when Mercury was sent to him in the fourth book. But in the passage now before us, Virgil does not allude to the name of this part of the city, but to the tents, or huts, which formerly stood there, and from which the name was derived.

The Carthaginians are said to have been the first who paved their streets with stones.

According to Justin, when the Tyrians laid the first foundation of their new city, they found the head of an ox; and when this was thought an omen of fertility, joined with labour and perpetual servitude, they removed to another place, where they found the head of a horse (*a*), which, being interpreted to signify a warlike and powerful nation, determined them to fix their habitation there: “In primis fundamentis caput bubulum inventum est: quod

(*a*) See Aen. I. 444.

auspicium

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“auspiciū quidem fructuosae terrae, sed
 “laboriosae, perpetuoque servae urbis fuit:
 “propter quod in aliū locū urbs tran-
 “slata. Ibi quoque *equi caput* repertum,
 “bellicosum potentemque populum futu-
 “rum significans, urbi auspicatam sedem
 “dedit.” According to Stephanus, Car-
 thage was called Caccabe, which, in their
 language, signifies the head of a horse;
 Εκαλετο δε καιη πολις, και Καδμεια, και Οινουσσα,
 και Κακκαβη. Τοιτο δο, κατα την οικειαν αυτων λεξιν,
 ιππου κεφαλη δηλουται. Our learned Sir John
 Marsham speaks of a coin in his possession,
 with the head of a horse well described, and
 some unknown letters at the bottom of the
 neck; “Tetradrachmam habeo, in cujus
 “una parte *προτομη ιππου, caput acris equi*
 “elegantē pictum, cum literis ad infimum
 “collum ignorabilibus.” This, or the like
 coin, has been mentioned also by other au-
 thors.

DISSER.

DISSERTATION IX.

Of the Aethiopians and Memnon (a).

MEMNON is said to be the son of Aurora by Tithonus, the son of Laomedon, king of Troy; and to have led a great army of Indians and Ethiopians, to the relief of that city, where he was slain by Achilles. Diodorus Siculus, in his fourth book, says that Tithonus led armies into the eastern parts of Asia, and extended his conquests as far as Ethiopia; whence he was said to have begotten on Aurora or the Morning a son named Memnon, who brought auxiliaries to the Trojans, and was slain by Achilles;

Ιλου δε γενομενος υιος Λαομεδων Τιθωνου και Πριαμου εγεννησεν, ων Τιθωνος μεν στρατευσας επι τα προς ευ-
 μερη της Ασιας, και διατεινας εως Αιθιοπιας, εμυθολο-
 γηδη μεν εξ Ηους τεκνωσαι Μεμνονα τον τρις Τρωσι
 βοηθησαντα, και υπο Αχιλλεως αναιρεθεντα. The
 same author in his second book, tells us,

(a) *Ecasque acies, et nigri Memnonis arma.*

that

that Teutamus was king of Assyria, at the time of the Trojan war; and that the Assyrian empire had extended itself over all Asia. Priamus king of Troas, finding himself very much pressed by the war, requested aid of Teutamus, under whose protection he was. This monarch sent to him ten thousand Ethiopians, and the like number of Susians, with two hundred chariots, under the conduct of Memnon, the son of Tithonus, who was at that time governour of Persia, and higher in the king's favour, than any of the other governours. This Memnon was then in the flower of his age, and excelled in all endowments both of body and mind. He built a palace in the citadel of Susa, which from him was called Memnonia, and lasted to the time of the Persian monarchy. He made also a paved way through that region, which is still called Memnonium. But the Ethiopians, who border upon Egypt, assert that Memnon was born in their country, and show ancient palaces, which are still called Memnonia. They say he led twenty thousand foot and two hundred chariots to the Trojan

jan war, where he gave great proofs of his valour, and slew great numbers of the Greeks, till at last he fell into an ambush and was slain. The Ethiopians however, being masters of his body, burnt it and carried his bones to Tithonus. Thus far Diodorus, from whose accounts of this hero we may collect, that Tithonus, being a younger son of Laomedon king of Troy, went into the service of the great king of Assyria, that he became a famous general and a great conqueror, that he subdued Ethiopia, where he became father of Memnon, whom Virgil calls *black*, as being born in Ethiopia, that from his great successes in the East he was fabled to be beloved by Aurora; that his son Memnon led a large body of auxiliaries to the assistance of his uncle Priamus, and that he there fell in battle either by the hand of Achilles, or by those of his Thessalian troops. Diodorus must however be mistaken with regard to the Assyrian monarch, who had subdued all Asia: for the Assyrian monarchy was not then founded: nor could any great conqueror have extended his power over those countries,

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countries, in the time of the Trojan war, except Sesostris and his successor Amenophis, kings of Egypt. This Amenophis is thought by our best chronologers and historians, to be the same person, whom the Greeks called Memnon. He was a war-like prince, and recovered the lower Egypt, which had revolted from his dominions: he marched with an army into Asia, and confirmed his empire over the nations; which had been subdued by Sesostris: he passed through Phrygia, and made a long stay at Susa, where he left many monuments of his abode: he reduced the rebellious Bactrians, and returned into Egypt with great triumph. Hesiod says he was the son of Tithonus and Aurora, and calls him king of the Ethiopians;

Τίδωνω δ' Ἦως τέκε Μήμνονα χαλκοκορυστήν,
Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλῆα.

Homer expressly mentions him, in the eleventh *Odyssæy*, as one who warred at Troy: for speaking of Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, he thus expresses himself;

Αὐτὰρ ὅτ' ἀμφὶ πόλιν Τροίην μαρνομένοισι Ἀχαιοί,
Οὐποτέ ἐς πλεῖστον μένεν ἀνδρῶν, οὐδ' ἐν ὀμίλῳ,

H

Ἀλλὰ

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Ἀλλὰ πολὺ προέδεσκέ, τοῦ οὐ μένος οὐδενὶ εἰκῶν·

Πολλοὺς δ' ἀνδρᾶς ἐπέφηνεν ἐν αἰνῇ δηιοτήτι.

Πάντας δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήσω

Ὅσσοι λαὸν ἐπέφηνεν ἀμυμῶν Ἀργείοισιν

Ἀλλ' οἶναι τὸν Τηλεφίδην κατενέξατο χαλκῷ

Ἡρῷ Εὐρυπύλον, πολλοὶ δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταίροι·

Κητεῖοι κτείνοντο γυναικῶν εἰνεκά δαυρον.

Καίνοι δὲ καλλιστῶν ἰδὼν μετὰ Μενέονα διόν.

“ But when to try the fortune of the day

“ Host mov'd tow'rd host in terrible array,

“ Before the van, impatient for the fight,

“ With martial port he strode, and stern
“ delight;

“ Heaps strow'd on heaps beneath his fau-
“ chion groan'd,

“ And monuments of dead deform'd the
“ ground.

“ The time would fail should I in order
“ tell

“ What foes were vanquish'd and what
“ numbers fell,

“ How lost thro' love Eurypylus was slain,

“ And round him bled his bold Cetaean
“ train.

“ To

DISSERTATION IX. 99

“ To Troy no Heroe came of nobler line,
“ Or if of nobler, Memnon, it was thine.”

Pope.

Pindar, in his sixth Pythian ode, calls him general of the Ethiopians, and speaks of his killing Antilochus, who piously preserved his father Nestor's life, at the expence of his own ;

Εγενετο και προτερον Αντιλοχος βιοτας
Νοημα τουτο φερων ος υπερεφδιτο
Πατρος, εναριμδροτου αμμει-
νας στραταρχον Αιθιοπων Μερνονα. Νεστο-
ρειον γαρ ιππος αρμ' επεδα,
Παριος εκ βαλεων δαιχθεις· ο δ' εφεπε
κραταιον εγχος.
Μεσσανιου δε γεροντος
Δοναδαισα φρη βοασε παιδα ον.
Καμαιπετες δ' αρ επος ουκ απερριψεν αυτου
Μενων δε ο θειος ανηρ, πριετο μεν θανα-
τοιο κομιδαν πατρός· εδο-
κησεν των παλαι γενεα οπλοτεροισιν,
Εργον πελωριον τελεσας,
Ήπατος αμφι τοκευσιν εμμεν προς αρεταν.

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In the second olympic ode, he calls him an Ethiopian, and son of Aurora; and says he was slain by Achilles;

Ὅς Ἑκτορ ἐσφαλε Τροίας
Ἀμαχόν, ἀσπίραδ' ἡμι-
να, Κυκνὸν τε θανάτῳ πόρεν,
Ἄοὺς τε παῖδ' αἰθιοπα.

“ Achilles, whose resistless might
“ Troy’s stable pillar overthrew,
“ The valiant Hector, firm in fight,
“ And hardy Cygnus slew,
“ And Memnon offspring of the morn,
“ In torrid Aethiopia born:”

Mr. West.

As also in the sixth Nemean ode;

— Καὶ ἐς Αἰθιοπας
Μεμνονος οὐκ ἀπονο-
σάσαντος, ἐπαλτο. βαρὺ
Δε σφιν νεῖκος ἐμπέσ' Ἀχιλλ —
θεὸς χαμαὶ καββάς ἀφ' ἁρμάτων
Φαεινὰς υἱὸν εὐ τ' ἐναρί —
ξεν Ἄοὺς αἰχμα
Εὐχχέος ζᾷοτοιο.

Pausanias,

Pausanias, in his Laconicks, says there was a sword of Memnon preserved in the temple of Aesculapius in Nicomedia, which was entirely made of brass, and a spear also, the head and bottom of which were of the same metal; *βεβαιαι δε και αλλας μοι τον λογον εν Φαση-
λιδι ανακειμενον εν Αθηναις εσω το δορυ Αχιλλεως, και
Νικομηδευσιν Ασκληπιου ναω μαχαιρα η Μεμνονος, και
του μεν η τε αιχμη και ο σφυρως, η μαχαιρα δε και
δια πασης χαλκου πεποιται.* In the same book, he also mentions a sculpture of the single combat between Achilles and Memnon, on the throne of Amyclean Apollo; *και Αχιλ-
λεως μονομαχια προς Μεμνονα εστιν ηρπαγμενος.* In his first Eliack, he mentions a like sculpture on the chest of Cypselus, where the mothers of those heroes are represented attending them; *Αχιλλει δε και Μεμνονι μαχομενοις παρεστηκασιν αι μη-
τερες.* In the same book, he speaks of a temple called Hippodamium, where there was a semicircular bench of stone, in the middle of which was a statue of Jupiter, with Thetis and Aurora supplicating him in behalf of their sons. At the points of the semicircle were Achilles and Memnon preparing for combat; with other figures of

Greeks and Barbarians opposed to each other. Ulysses was placed over against Helenus, because they were reputed the wisest of their respective armies : Paris against Menelaus, on account of their inveterate hatred : Aeneas against Diomedes, and Deiphobus against Ajax the son of Telamon. It was the work of Lycius the son of Myron, and was an offering of the Apollonians, who lived on the coast of the Ionian Sea : Παρα δὲ τὸ Ἰπποδαμίων καλούμενον, λιθοῦ τε βαδρου ἐστὶ κύκλος ἡμισυς, καὶ ἀγαλματα ἐπ' αὐτῶν Ζεὺς, καὶ Θέτις τε καὶ Ἥμερα τὸν Δία ὑπὲρ τῶν τέκνων ἐκτενύουσαι· ταῦτα ἐπὶ μέσω τῷ βαδρῷ. Οἱ δὲ ἤδη σχῆμα ἀντιτεταγμένων ὁ τε Ἀχιλλεὺς παρεχεται καὶ ὁ Μενων ἐπὶ ἑκατέρου τοῦ βαδρου τῷ περατὶ ἑκατέρου· ἀνδρισθήκασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλῳ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, αὐτῆς βαρβαρος ἀνδρὶ Ἕλληνι, Ὀδυσσεὺς μὲν Ἐλένῳ, ὅτι οὗτοι μαλίσθα ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ δοῖαν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ἀρατενυματι εἰληφισαν. Μενέλαῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐχθρὸς τὸ ἐξάρχης Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Διομῆδαι δὲ Αἰνείας, καὶ τῷ Τελαμῶνος Αἰαντὶ Δηϊφῶβος· ταῦτα ἐστὶν ἔργα μὲν Λυκίου τοῦ Μυρωνος, Ἀπολλωνιαταὶ δὲ ἀνέθηκαν οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ. In his Phocicks, he speaks of a picture, wherein Memnon is represented together with Hector and Sarpedon : in this piece Memnon is painted laying one hand upon the shoulder of Sarpedon.

pedon. A naked Ethiopian boy is placed near Memnon, to show that he was king of the Ethiopians; Εν δε τοις κάτω της γραφης μετα τον Θρακα επί Θαμυριν, Εκτωρ μεν καδεζομενος αμφοτερας εχει τας χειρας περι το αριστερον γονυ, ανωμενου σχημα εμφανων· μετα δε αυτον Μεμνων εστιν επι πετρα καδεζομενος, και Σαρπηδων συνεχης τω Μεμνωνι· επικεκλιται δε το προσωπον επι τας χειρας αμφοτερας ο Σαρπηδων· η δε ετέρα των χειρων του Μεμνωνος επι τω ωμω του Σαρπηδονος κειται. - - - - - παρα δε τω Μεμνωνι και πααις Αιδιοψ πεποιηται γυμνος, οτι ο Μεμνων βασιλευς η του Αιδιοπων γένους. Pausanias adds, that he marched to Troy, not from Ethiopia, but from Susa of the Persians, having made himself master of all those countries from the banks of the Choaspes, and that the Phrygians in his time showed the road which he had cut for the more ready march of his army; Αφικετο μεν τοις ες Ιλιον ουκ' απ' Αιδιοπιας, αλλα εκ Σουσων των Περσικων, και απο του Χοασπου ποταμου τα εδη παντα οσα απει μεταξυ, υποχειρια πεποιημενος. Φρυγες δε και την οδον επι αποφαινουσιν, δι' ης την στρατειαν ηγαγε, τα επιτομα ενλεγόμενος της χωρας· τετμηται δε δια των μουσων η οδος. When the ancient Greek writers speak of Ethiopia, they commonly mean Thebais, or the upper Egypt: by Egypt they usually

mean only the Delta or lower Egypt. Amenophis was king of all Egypt; but being driven by rebellion from the lower Egypt, he still retained the upper, whence he was only king of Ethiopia, according to the Greeks: but he afterwards overcame his enemies, and reigned again over the whole country: so that according to the different expression of writers, he might be stiled king either of Ethiopia, or of Egypt, or of both. But whether Amenophis and Memnon were the very same person or not, is perhaps not very easy to determine. It is not improbable, that Memnon, the son of Tithonus, born in Ethiopia, or the upper Egypt, commanded the armies of Amenophis, that warred in Asia; and that some similitude in their names might occasion their being taken for the same person; and their respective actions to be confounded together by the Greeks, who did not begin to write history till long after the death of these great persons. I shall add only one observation more; that the Ethiopians are said to have been a people, who migrated from

DISSERTATION IX. 105

from India properly so called, in the time of Amenophis. It is not improbable, that a body of these very people might march under the conduct of Memnon; and if this be so; Virgil might justly call them *Eoas acies*.

DISSER.

DISSERTATION X.

Of the Amazons (a).

THE AMAZONS were a nation of warlike women, who inhabited the Asiatic Thrace, on the borders of the Euxine or Black sea, in the northern parts of *Asia minor*, and chiefly about the banks of the river Thermodon. Virgil speaks of them again in the eleventh book ;

“ Quales Threïciæ, cum flumina Ther-
“ modontes

“ Pulsant, et pictis bellantur Amazonēs
“ armis :

Scu

(a) “ Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
“ Penthesilea furens, mediisque in millibus
“ ardet,

“ Aurea subnectens exertæ cingula mammae,
“ Bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.”

Aen I. 490.

DISSERTATION X. 107

“ Seu circum Hippolyten, seu cum se Mar-

“ tia curru

“ Penthesilea refert : magnoque ululante

“ tumultu

“ Foemineæ exultant lunatis agmina peltis.”

*So march'd the Thracian Amazons of old,
When Thermodon, with bloody billows rowl'd :
Such troops as these in shining arms were seen ;
When Theseus met in fight their maiden queen.
Such to the field Penthesilea led,
From the fierce virgin when the Grecians fled :
With such return'd triumphant from the war ;
Her maids with cries attend the lofty carr.
They clasp with manly force their moony shields ;
With female shouts resound the Phrygian fields.
Dryden.*

Herodotus mentions a remarkable story of these Amazons. The Greeks made war upon them in their own country : and having overcome them in a battle fought near the river Thermodon, carried off a good number of captives in three vessels. The Amazons, when they were upon the open sea, rebelled, and cut them all in pieces.
But,

But, as they did not understand either sailing or rowing, they were obliged to trust themselves to the winds and waves; and were cast on the shore of the *Palus Maotis*. Here they landed, and having siezed the the first horses that they met with, began to plunder the country. The Scythians, never suspected their sex, till they made the discovery by taking some of them prisoners. They called a council, and came to a resolution of taking a more gentle method with them than fighting. They appointed an equal number of young men to watch their motions: these were ordered to encamp as near them as possible; always to retreat when they were attacked; and to imitate their manners as much as possible. The young men executed their orders with great punctuality: and the Amazons, perceiving they did not behave like enemies, began to soften their rigour, and admit of a nearer approach. They now began to encamp at a smaller distance from each other; and the ladies were charmed with finding, that their neighbours rode on horseback, bare the same arms, and lived by hunting like themselves.

DISSERTATION X. 109

selves. They sometimes took a walk out of the camp, one or two at a time, which the Scythians observed, and did the same. At last one of them happened to meet with a Scythian: and they did not part without some mutual tokens of good will. They did not understand each others language; but on such occasions signs are commonly intelligible: and they used that method, to make an assignation to meet the next day at the same time and place, and to bring each of them a companion. This meeting had so good an effect, as to procure many more: and by degrees they came to such good terms, that they reduced both camps into one. When matters were gone so far, the Scythians proposed marriage, promising inviolable fidelity, and offering to lead them, as their lawful wives, to the habitations of their parents. This the Amazons did not approve: they told them they could never agree with the Scythian ladies, whose manners were very different from theirs. For their parts they had no skill in housewifery, nor any inclination to it: they therefore desired, that their fathers would give them

part

110 DISSERTATION X.

part of their goods, and consent that they might live separate from the other Scythians. This proposal was admitted, and afterwards another which they made, of removing beyond the Tanais, in which place their posterity continued in the time of Herodotus. Hence, says he, the women of the Sauromatae keep up the ancient manners of the Amazons, from whom they are descended. They bear the men company in hunting and in war, and dress much after the same manner. The learned reader may find this story in the fourth book. Pausanias, in the first book of his Atticks, speaks of a picture representing a fight of the Athenians, under the conduct of Theseus, with the Amazons. He adds, that these were the only women who could never be deterred from fighting: for after the taking of Themiscyra, and the destruction of the forces which they had sent against the Athenians, they engaged at the Trojan war, not with the Athenians alone; but with all Greece. In another place of the same book, he relates that according to the account of the Megarians: the Amazons made war upon the

the

DISSERTATION X. iii

the Athenians, because they had carried away Antiope : but were overcome by Theseus. When many of them had fallen in battle, Hippolyte, the sister of Antiope, who commanded the army fled to Megara, with but few in her company, and despairing of ever being able to return into her own country, died through grief and was there buried. Her monument was to be seen at Megara, in the form of an Amazonian shield. According to Diodorus Siculus, the Amazons were a nation, which formerly lived on the banks of Thermodon, and were subject to female government. It is said, that one of their queens, having a very warlike genius, assembled an army of women, whom when she had well disciplined, she led against several neighbouring states, and dispossessed them. As her fame increased with her conquests, she began to think more highly of herself, pretended to be the daughter of Mars, and transferred spinning and other domestic employments from the women to the men. She also enacted laws, to encourage the women to apply themselves to war, and to keep the men

in

112 DISSERTATION X.

in due subjection. They weakened the arms and legs of all the male children; that they might never be able to engage in war: and burned the right breast of the females; that the swelling of it might not hinder them in the exercise of their arms; and hence they are called Amazons. She founded a large city at the mouth of the Thermodon, and called it Themiscyra: she compelled all the neighbouring countries, as far as the Tanais, to submit to her, and at last was slain, valiantly fighting in battle. Diodorus then gives us the succession of the Amazonian queens, down to Penthesilea. The same author speaks of Amazons, more ancient than those of Thermodon: they inhabited great part of Africa, made many great wars, and conquered many countries, under the conduct of their queen Myrina, who at last was slain in battle. He mentions also the command which was laid upon Hercules, to bring the belt of Hippolyte. The hero sailed into the Euxine, and entering the mouth of the Thermodon, encamped near Themiscyra. Here he demanded the belt; and being refused, gave them battle. He engaged with several chiefs; but

DISSERTATION X. 113

but overcame them all ; and put their whole army to flight. Of the prisoners, he gave Antiope to Theseus, and set the queen Menalippe at liberty ; because she had delivered him the belt. After this, but at some considerable distance of time, the remains of the whole nation assembled at the Thermopydon, being determined to avenge themselves of the Athenians ; because Theseus held their queen Antiope, or as others write Hippolyte, in captivity. They called in their Scythian auxiliaries, and having formed a great army, crossed the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and marching through Thrace passed over great part of Europe, and at length encamped in Attica. Theseus drew out the citizens, under the joint command of himself and Antiope, by whom he was now the father of Hippolytus. This lady, fought bravely on her husband's side against her country-women : and diminished the joy for his victory by her own death. The Amazons that survived, despairing of recovering their own country, retreated with their Scythian auxiliaries. Justin also speaks of these people, in the fourth chapter of the second

114 DISSERTATION X.

book ; but with some difference. Diodorus says, Penthesilea came to the aid of the Trojans after the death of Hector. He calls her the last of the Amazons ; and says, that after having slain many Grecians, she fell by the hand of Achilles. Justin says she succeeded Orithyia in the kingdom, and behaved herself at the Trojan war, with a courage equal to that of the bravest men.

DISSER.

DISSERTATION XI.

Of the River Timavus.

(a) ACCORDING to Strabo, there was in the very inmost part of the Adriatick, a memorable temple of Diomedes, called Timavum, which had a port, a pleasant grove, and seven springs of sweet water,

I 2

which

(a) “ Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achivis,
 “ Illyricos penetrare sinus, atque intima tutus
 “ Regna Liburnorum, et fontem superare Ti-
 “ mavi:

“ Unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure
 “ montis

“ It mare proruptum, et pelago premit arva
 “ sonanti.

“ Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi, sedesque lo-
 “ cavit

“ Teucrorum, et genti nomen dedit, armaque
 “ fixit

“ Troia: nunc placida compositus pace qui-
 “ escit.”

I 2

Aen. I. 242.

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which soon fell into the sea together, in a broad and deep river. Polybius says, all the springs were salt, except one; and that the inhabitants call this place the fountain and mother of the sea; Posidonius relates, that the river Timavus falls from the mountains, and being swallowed up, runs under ground a hundred and thirty *Stadia*, and then breaks out into the sea; Εν αυτω δε τω μυχω του Αδριου και ιερον του Διομηδους εστιν αξιον μνημης, το Τιμαυον λιμενα γαρ εχει, και αλσος ευ-
 πρεπης, και πηγας ζ ποτιμου υδατος, ευδus εes την θαλατταν εκπιπλοντος, ωλαται και βαδει ποταμω. Πο-
 λυβιος δ' ειρηκε ωλην μιας, τας αλλας αλμυρου υδατος, και δει και τους επιχωριους πηγην και μητερα θαλαττης ονομαζει τον τοπον. Ποσειδωνιος δε φησι ποταμον τον Τιμαυον εκ των ορων φερομενον, καταπιπλει εις βερεδρον, ηδ' υπο γης ερεχδεντα περι εκατον και λ σταδιους, επι τη θαλαττη την εκβολην ποιειδαι. Pliny, Lib. ii. cap. 103. mentions the Timavus among those rivers, which are swallowed up and rise again; “Subeunt terras, rursusque red-
 “duntur, Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Ar-
 “golica, Tigris in Mesopotamia. Et quae
 “in Aesculapii fonte Athenis immerfa sunt,
 “in Phalerico redduntur. Et in Atinate
 campo

DISSERTATION XI. 117

" campo fluvius mersus post xx. M. pass.
 " exit. Et in Aquileiensi Timavus." In
 the eighteenth chapter of the third book,
 he places the river Timavus in the tenth
 region of Italy, or Venetia, between Aquileia
 and Tergeste, which are but twenty-three
 miles distant from each other; " Sequitur
 decima Regio Italiae Adriatico mari
 apposita, Venetia - - - Aquileiam
 coloniam xii. M. pass. a mari sitam.
 Carnorum haec regio, junctaque Japidum,
 amnis Timavus, castellum nobile vino
 Pucinum: Tergestinus sinus, colonia
 Tergeste xxiii M. pass. ab Aquileia.
 Pomponius Mela places it near Tergeste;
 and speaks of its nine springs; " At in
 oris proxima est a Tergeste Concordia;
 Interfluit Timavus, novem capitibus exurgens
 uno ostio emissus." Our poet, when he
 dedicates his eighth eclogue to Pollio, is in
 doubt whether that great man was marching
 over the rocks of Timavus, or coasting along
 the shoar of the Illyrian sea;

118 DISSERTATION XI.

“ Tu mihi, seu magni superas jam faxa

“ Timavi

“ Sive oram Illyrici legis aequoris.”

In this passage we find the rocks of Timavus mentioned, which without doubt are the mountains from whence the spring here spoken of rises. Therefore *superas jam faxa Timavi*, and *fontem superare Timavi* are the same. It is observable also, that the poet calls the Timavus a great river, *magni Timavi*. I do not question, but this river was a very considerable one, when Virgil wrote; notwithstanding most of the modern geographers affirm, that there is not any river of note to be found between Aquileia and Tergeste. The course of the ancient Timavus was not long; but it spread itself considerably, and formed a large lake, which may have been since drained; not to mention the great alterations, which may have been occasioned in those countries by earthquakes.

Servius, says that, according to Varro, this river was called a sea by the inhabitants. Thus also Herodian tells us, in his
last

last book, that the marshes, which are overflowed by the Po, and by the neighbouring pools, and empty themselves by seven mouths into the sea, are called by the inhabitants the *seven seas*; Ο δὲ Μαξιμος, απο της Ραβεννης αρας, απεσθη Ακυλνια διαβας τα τεταγη ατε υπο Ηριδανου ποταμου πληρουμενα και των περικειμενων ελων, επλα σιομασιν ες θαλατταν εκχεεται· ενθεν και τη φωνη καλουσιν οι επιχωριοι επλα πελαγη την λιμνην εκεινην.

The poet affirms that the Timavus is considerable enough to overflow the neighbouring country; "*Pelago premit arva sonanti.*" Whether this overflowing was occasioned by the melting of snows from the mountains, or by the tide of the sea, which entered the channel of the river is not said: but that the Timavus did form a considerable lake, appears sufficiently from the forty first book of Livy. "*Profectus ab Aquileia consul, castra ad lacum Timavi posuit. Imminet mari is lacus. Eodem decem navibus C. Furius duumvir navalis venit adversus Illyriorum classem creati duumviri navales erant, qui tuendam viginti navibus mari superiore Anconam velut cardinem habebant - - - Histri, ut primum ad la-*

120 DISSERTATION XI.

“ *cum Timavi* castra sunt Romana mota,
 “ *ipfi post collem occulto loco confederunt.*”
 Herodian also, in his last book, speaks of a river and lake, which for some time retarded the march of Maximinus toward Aquileia, and were probably the river and lake of Timavus. Indeed the mountains which gave rise to this river, and the lake formed by its inundations seem to have made a very difficult pass between Italy and Illyricum: whence *saxa* or *fontem superare Timavi* might be anciently esteemed as a work of no small difficulty.

The poet is generally understood to mean, by “*unde per ora novem, &c.*” that the river bursts out from the rocks, *unde* being supposed to relate to *fontem Timavi*: but the learned Catrou, has discovered a new interpretation of this passage, which he explains in the following terms: “I have
 “ always found some reluctance in following the common interpretation of this
 “ passage. The commentators tell us, that
 “ we must understand the spring of the
 “ Timavus in these two verses;”

“ Unde

DISSERTATION XI. 121

“ Unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure
 “ montis

“ It mare proruptum, et pelago premit arva
 “ sonanti.”

“ In short they have found that this little
 “ river has seven springs or fountains, that
 “ flow from the same mountain. Virgil
 “ indeed has given us nine; but this they
 “ tell us is a certain number for an uncer-
 “ tain one, a figure common enough among
 “ the poets. I believe the mistake of the
 “ commentators on this passage arises from
 “ the wrong pointing of the text. They
 “ have found only a comma or a colon
 “ after *Timavi*: whereas I make a full stop,
 “ taking the sense to end there. They
 “ make a full stop after *sonanti*, where I
 “ put only a comma, so that the words *hic*
 “ *tamen* relate to *unde* which went before.
 “ By these small corrections, I have made
 “ Virgil speak intelligibly, which he did
 “ not before. La Cerda himself has found
 “ some difficulty in applying these two ver-
 “ ses to the source of the Timavus, though
 “ he gives way to the common pointing and
 “ interpre-

“ interpretation. He has found the difficul-
 “ ty, without being able to solve it. He
 “ cannot comprehend that Virgil should in-
 “ troduce so much greatness in the descrip-
 “ tion of a small river, which at present is
 “ no more than a brook. It is a sea, it
 “ *mare proruptum*. It is a vast ocean, that
 “ over flows the fields with a noise, *pelagoque*
 “ *sonanti*. Here is a great bustle about a
 “ little rivulet. He concludes therefore,
 “ that Virgil, in the description of this ri-
 “ ver, has either exercised his wit, or imi-
 “ tated the Greeks in giving a magnificent
 “ image of the Timavus. For my own
 “ part I am persuaded, that in the two ver-
 “ ses in question, we have nothing more to
 “ do with the Timavus. What the poet
 “ had to say of it is ended with a full stop,
 “ which I have restored after *Timavi*. We
 “ must therefore understand the two verses
 “ in question of the gulph of Venice. To
 “ make my meaning understood, let us
 “ place the Latin words in order. *Unde*
 “ *mare proruptum per ora novem, it magna*
 “ *cum montis murmure, et premit arva pe-*
 “ *lago sonanti, hic Antenor lacavit urbem Pa-*
 “ *tavi,*

" tavi, &c. that is, *In this place, whence the*
 " *sea, being divided by nine outlets of rivers,*
 " *returns with a great noise of the mountains,*
 " *and dashes against the land with its sound-*
 " *ing waves. Antenor founded Padua, &c.*
 " It is plain, that here is a description of
 " the extent of the country which Antenor
 " possessed, and where he established his
 " colony. His usurpation or conquest was
 " not bounded by the territory of Padua,
 " not far from the outlets of the Po. It
 " extended through the whole territory of
 " Venice, from Aquileia to beyond the
 " outlets of this river, that is almost the
 " whole circuit of the coast of the gulph of
 " Venice. Livy, at the beginning of his
 " work, places the colony of Antenor in
 " this very spot. *It is manifest, says he,*
 " *- - - that Antenor after many adven-*
 " *tures, came to the utmost recess of the Adri-*
 " *atick sea. He was accompanied by the He-*
 " *neti, who being driven from Paphlagonia on*
 " *account of a sedition, after having lost their*
 " *king Pylaemenes in the Trojan war, sought*
 " *for a chief, and a country to inhabit. They*
 " *therefore drove away the Euganei who lived*
 " *between*

“ *between the Alps and the sea, and the He-*
 “ *neti being mixed with the Trojans took pos-*
 “ *session of their country. They gave the name*
 “ *of Troy to the city which they builded, and*
 “ *the whole nation took the name of Veneti.*
 “ It is plain enough, that these *Veneti* are
 “ the modern Venetians. Though Venice
 “ was not built before the fifth century,
 “ in the time of Attila, yet the nation of
 “ the *Veneti* possessed the circuit of the
 “ coast, which forms the Adriatick at it’s
 “ extremity. It is true, that Strabo was
 “ of opinion that the *Veneti*, who came to
 “ inhabit the coasts of the gulph of Ve-
 “ nice, were Britons of Vannes. As for
 “ Virgil, he has followed therein the tradi-
 “ tion of his own country, authorized by
 “ Livy and Cornelius Nepos, as he is quot-
 “ ed by Pliny, who also makes these *Veneti*
 “ to come from Paphlagonia, and to be the
 “ companions of Antenor. Besides, the
 “ same Pliny, when he is describing the
 “ the tenth region of Italy, places the *Ve-*
 “ *neti* from Aquileia round the gulph of
 “ Venice. It remains therefore to explain
 “ each part of these two verses, and to ap-
 ply

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“ ply them to the situation which Livy and
 “ Pliny have given to the *Veneti*. 1. *Unde*
 “ *it mare*, that is, in this place from which
 “ the sea returns. In truth, the Adriatick
 “ sea ends at this coast, and not being able
 “ to extend itself any farther, it returns
 “ back upon its self and falls off. 2. *Prae-*
 “ *ruptum*, or *prorruptum per ora novem*, that
 “ is, the *Adriatick sea divided by nine outlets*.
 “ In this extent of land, which the *Veneti*
 “ possessed, according to Livy, there are
 “ reckoned at least nine outlets of rivers,
 “ which form so many ports. It is certain
 “ that Pliny, in his description of the coun-
 “ try of the *Veneti*, names just nine, which
 “ disembogue themselves into the Adriatick
 “ gulph. 3. *Magno cum murmure montis*,
 “ with a great noise of the mountains. It
 “ is plain, that the sea cannot return, and
 “ beat back its waters against the rocks and
 “ little islands which border upon this coast,
 “ without making a great noise. 4. *Et pe-*
 “ *lago premit arva sonanti*, and presses the
 “ fields with its sounding waves. No words
 “ could better express the extremity of a
 “ sea, which beats against the land, and
 “ over-

“ overflows it with its waves. 5. *Hic ta-*
 “ *men ille urbem Patavi, &c.* That is, An-
 “ tenor builded the city of Padua. It is
 “ really in this country of the *Veneti*, that
 “ Padua stands at present, at some distance
 “ from the sea. Now let any one compare
 “ this interpretation with that of the other
 “ commentators, and see whether the de-
 “ scription contained in these two verses
 “ represents the sources of the Timavus.
 “ On the contrary, we may say it perfect-
 “ ly agrees with the country where the *Ve-*
 “ *neti*, being mingled with the Trojans,
 “ settled under the conduct of Antenor.
 “ A correction of the pointing has given
 “ me this discovery, and this very point-
 “ ing, as I have settled it, is to be found
 “ in the old editions of Virgil.” But not-
 “ withstanding the great pleasure which this
 “ learned critick enjoys, in his new interpre-
 “ tation, Burman is by no means satisfied with
 “ it; and thinks the whole observation harsh
 “ and very much strained, and is positive,
 “ that *unde* ought to be referred to the pre-
 “ ceding *Timavi*. “ Nor, says he, is the Ti-
 “ mavus so small a rivulet, though its course
 “ may

“ may be short, which is observed by Clu-
 “ verius, who has treated with much la-
 “ bour and judgment of this river, in his
 “ *Italia antiqua*. For when the tide of the
 “ sea swells, the waters of this river, be-
 “ ing mixed with those of the sea, make a
 “ great noise, and the tide bursts through
 “ several mouths, with a roaring like that
 “ of a rocky mountain, and as it is in-
 “ capable of being contained in the chan-
 “ nel of the Timavus, it greatly overflows
 “ the adjoining meadows, as this eye wit-
 “ nesses affirms, who shews that the Tima-
 “ vus is therefore called great, in the
 “ eighth eclogue: wherefore *pelagus* and
 “ *mare* must here be understood either of
 “ the sea itself entring into the nine mouths
 “ of the Timavus, or of the river, which
 “ is called *mare* by the poet, according to
 “ Servius, Turnebus, Guellius and others,
 “ because it then resembles a sea; and those
 “ words *pelago sonanti* relate to that huge
 “ mass of waters, which has the appear-
 “ ance of a sea.” I cannot but agree with
 this learned critick, that Catrou’s inter-
 pretation is harsh and strained: and the
 words

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words of the poet can by no means be applied to the extremity of the Adriatic or gulph of Venice. The outlets of the Po, and the neighbouring rivers, do not fall from any mountains in those parts; nor are they observed to make any roaring noise; if we may believe the best geographers, and such as have travelled into those parts: The opinion of Ruacus, that we are to understand the poet to mean nine springs of the Timavus, which burst out in nine places of the mountains; seems the most probable. However, that we may not go upon mere conjecture; it will not be amiss to lay before the reader an abstract of what the learned Cluverius, who surveyed the country in question with his own eyes, has said concerning it, in the first book of his *Italia antiqua*. “ There is a village in Carniola, “ called by the inhabitants S. Carzan, from “ a church dedicated to that saint; where “ a great mass of water bursts out through “ many fountains, with a vast noise, from “ the roots of a high mountain: and is “ soon lost in a subterraneous passage, so as “ not to appear again for fourteen miles, “ when

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“ when it bursts out again through many
 “ great fountains, which have the same
 “ properties that were ascribed by the an-
 “ cients to the springs of Timavus, at a
 “ village called S. Giovanni di Cherso, or
 “ di Duino. This second emerfion of the
 “ springs of Timavus is alluded to by Mar-
 “ tial ;

“ *An tua multifidum numeravit lana Tima-*
 “ *vum,*

“ *Quem prius astrifero Cyllarus ore bibet ?*

“ But what the number of these springs is,
 “ has been controverted even by the ancient
 “ authors. Strabo, following Polybius,
 “ makes them seven, with which opinion
 “ Martial also agrees ;

“ *Et tu Ledaëo felix Aquileia Timavo.*

“ *Heic ubi septenas Cyllarus hausit aquas.”*

“ But Virgil mentions nine mouths or
 “ springs, to which Mela agrees, and Clau-
 “ dian also ;

“ *Mincius, inque novem consurgens ora Ti-*
 “ *marvus.*

K

“ Claudian

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“ Claudian without doubt took the prince
 “ of poets Virgil for his pattern ; and Ser-
 “ vius thinks the poet might use a certain
 “ number for an uncertain one. This
 “ might be no absurdity in a poet ; but
 “ then what can we say to Mela, who was
 “ neither an incurious nor a fabulous geo-
 “ grapher ? A certain number is mentioned
 “ on both sides ; and therefore it will be
 “ proper to inquire, whether Virgil and
 “ Mela, or Strabo and Martial are in the
 “ right. At the abovementioned village of
 “ S. John, where the river bursts forth a
 “ second time, I counted six principal
 “ mouths or springs, each of which was
 “ formed by several smaller ebullitions. The
 “ first of these rises above the church, and
 “ forms one channel : near this three others
 “ form a second channel ; and two more a
 “ third. These three channels meet about
 “ the middle way between the springs of
 “ the sea, and forming one river are emp-
 “ tied into the sea by one outlet. It can
 “ hardly be doubted, but that the seventh
 “ spring of the ancients was that which
 “ rises in a marshy plain, and falls into the
 “ third

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“ third channel. Which were the other two
 “ springs of Virgil and Mela, is doubtful.
 “ For about the middle way between the
 “ conflux of the three channels and the sea,
 “ the Timavus receives another river on the
 “ right, which comes from a lake about
 “ two miles distant from the abovemention-
 “ ed springs, which is now called *Lago*
 “ *della pietra rossa*, or the lake of the red
 “ rock: and this river brings down another
 “ rivulet with it called *Fiume di Santo An-*
 “ *tonio*, which encompasses on the north a
 “ *peninsula*, in which are the hot springs of
 “ S. Anthony. Whether therefore the
 “ springs of these two rivers were taken by
 “ the ancients for the other two springs of
 “ the Timavus; or two others, which flow
 “ from the marshes at the foot of the hill
 “ near the village of S. Giovanni, into the
 “ left side of the river of the red rock, is
 “ doubtful. The salt taste of the water is
 “ an argument for the latter; and the lake
 “ of the red rock being that which Livy
 “ calls the lake of Timavus is for the for-
 “ mer.” Had the learned Catrou given
 due attention to what this celebrated modern

geographer has related from his own knowledge, he would never have affirmed, that the Timavus was a little rivulet; nor could he well have doubted, that *unde per ora novem, &c.* related to the sources of Timavus; since it is no less difficult to assign the exact number of outlets of rivers, that flow into the Adriatick through the Venetian territory, than it is at present to produce the nine springs, neither more nor less, of the Timavus. And indeed whether that precise number is now to be found, is not very material to enquire, considering the many great alterations, which have happened in mountains and rivers, in a space of almost two thousand years. But Cluverius farther observes, that “ the whole tract between the
 “ sea and the river Frigidus is one continued rock, full of very deep caverns:
 “ that the subterraneous passages from the
 “ rocky hill, which hangs over the seven
 “ springs of Timavus, reach to the shallows of the nearest part of the sea;
 “ whence the river is increased and decreased by the flux and reflux of the tide.
 “ Thus it flows without any noise through
 “ its

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“ its several channels, when the tide is
 “ low ; but when the sea comes in, it rushes
 “ into the subterraneous passages with great
 “ violence, and is mixed with the springs
 “ of Timavus, making a hideous roaring
 “ in the numerous caverns ; and often over-
 “ flows the banks of the river, and lays the
 “ adjacent country under water. Hence it
 “ is called the spring and mother of the
 “ sea, by the inhabitants, according to
 “ Polybius in Strabo. And indeed the sea
 “ is so copiously mixed with the springs as
 “ to render them all salt and unfit to drink,
 “ except the largest, which rises near the
 “ church of S. John. As I have been an
 “ eye witness of this, I can with more con-
 “ fidence affirm, that those are mistaken
 “ who say the springs of this river continue
 “ fresh, even during the highest tides.”

The reader will consider, whether this whole
 mountainous tract, from the first to the se-
 cond breaking out of these waters, may not
 be comprehended under these two words
Fons Timavi.

The poet does not mean, that Antenor
 builded the city of Padua, at the springs of
 Timavus ;

Timavus; but in Venetia, the country into which he must necessarily come after having passed the sources of that river. Venetia extended itself round the upper part of the Adriatick, and contained pretty near the same territory, which now belongs to the republick of Venice. I mention this, because some authors, not understanding the passage before us, have supposed this river to flow near Padua; which imagination is abundantly confuted by the ancient geographers before quoted.

Virgil speaks only of a Trojan colony being fixed here by Antenor: but Livy tells us, that his colony was composed of Trojans and *Heneti*, a people of Paphlagonia, that he expelled the Euganei, who were the ancient inhabitants, that the country which this mixt multitude seized upon was called Troy, and the nation itself *Veneti*; “Ca-
 “sibus deinde variis Antenorem cum mul-
 “titudine Henetum, qui seditione ex Paph-
 “lagonia pulsi, et sedes et ducem, rege Py-
 “laemene ad Trojam amisso, quaerebant,
 “venisse in infimum maris Adriatici sinum:
 “Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque
 “incole-

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“ incolebant, pulsis Henetos Trojanosque eas
 “ tenuisse terras : et in quem primum egressi
 “ sunt locum, Troja vocatur ; pagoque inde
 “ Trojano nomen est, gens universa Ve-
 “ neti appellati.” The tradition that Pa-
 dua was built by Antenor, has so generally
 obtained, that this city has been frequently
 called *Antenorea*. Nay, the modern inhabi-
 tants call the interior wall of the city *Ante-*
tenor’s wall, as we are informed by our
 learned Ray, who also adds the following
 inscription over the gate of All-Saints,
 by which it appears, that they claim Ante-
 nor for their founder, “ Hanc antiquissi-
 “ mam urbem literarum omnium asylum, cu-
 “ jus agrum fertilitatis summen natura esse vo-
 “ luit, *Antenor condidit* : Senatus autem Ve-
 “ netus his belli propugnaculis ornavit, Le-
 “ onardo Lauredano Duca Venetorum in-
 “ victissimo, cujus Principatus varias for-
 “ tunae vices excipiens quam gloriose supe-
 “ ravit.”

DISSERTATION XII.

Of the Aeolian Islands.

(a) By the country of storms into which the goddess Juno is brought by the poet, we must not understand the poet to mean Aeolia, or Aeolis, a country of Asia minor; but the Aeolian islands, which lye between Sicily and the continent of Italy. Servius says they are nine in number: but most authors agree, that they are but seven. They are called not only Aeolian, but also, Liparean from Lipara, which is the largest of them, Hephestian and Vulcanian from Vulcan, who is said to have had his forge there,

(a) “ Talia flammato secum Dea corde volu-
“ tans,

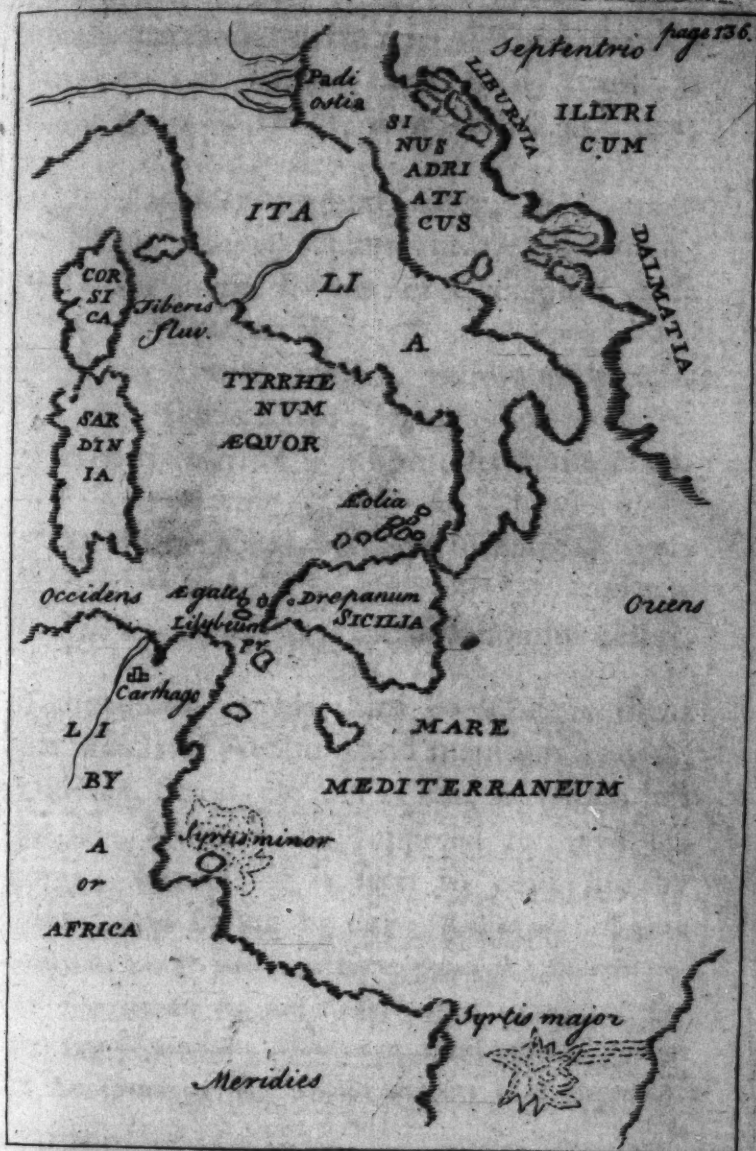
“ Nimborum in patriam, loca foeta furentibus
“ austris

“ Aeoliam venit. Hic vasto rex Aeolus antro

“ Luctantes ventos tempestatque sonoras

“ Imperio premit, ac vinclis et carcere fraenat.”

Aen. I. 50.





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there, which Virgil, in the eighth book, places particularly in one of them, which lies between Lipare, and Sicily, and is thought to be Hieræ, now called Volcano;

- “ *Insula Sicanium juxta latus, Æoliâmq;*
 “ *Erigitur Liparen flammantibus ardua saxis:*
 “ *Quam subter specus, et Cyclopum exesa*
 “ *caminis*
 “ *Antra Aetnea tonant, validique incudi-*
 “ *bus ictus*
 “ *Auditi referunt gemitum, striduntque ca-*
 “ *vernīs*
 “ *Stricturae Chalybum, et fornacibus ignis*
 “ *anhelat:*
 “ *Vulcani domus, et Vulcania nomine tellus.*

Thucydides, in his third book, calls them the islands of Æolus; and mentions Lipara, Didyme, Strongyle and Hieræ, in which last he says Vulcan was supposed to have his forge; because it is seen to emit fire by night, and smoak by day; *Και οἱ μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ρηγῖνοι, τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος τριακόντα ναῦσι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀἰόλου νήσους καλουμένας. Δε- ροὺς γὰρ δι' ἀνδρῶν ἀδύνατα ἢ ἐπιστρατεύειν· νεμολῆαι δὲ Λιπαράιοι αὐτάς, Κνιδίων ἀποικοὶ οἷες· οἰκοῦσι δ'*

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εν μια των νησων ου μεγαλη, καλειται δε Λιπαραι· τας
 δε αλλας εκ ταυτης ορμωμενοι γεωργοι, Διδυμην, και
 Στρογγυλην, και Ιεραν νομιζουσι δε. οι εκεινη ανθρωποι,
 εν τη Ιερα ως ο Ηφαιστος χαλκειει, οτι την νυκτα φαι-
 νεται πυρ αναδιδουσα πολυ, και την ημεραν καπνος.
 Aristotle, in his second book of Meteorolo-
 gicks, speaking of earthquakes, observes
 that the earth often swells, and gives the
 vapour a vent, thereby forming a storm.
 He gives an instance of this *phaenomenon* in
 the island Hiera, which he says is one of
 those which are called the islands of Aeolus,
 where the earth swelled up into a sort of
 hill, making a noise at the same time. This
 hill burst at last, and a great blast rushing
 out, carried sparks of fire and ashes with it,
 insomuch that the city of the Lipareans was
 quite covered with them, and even some
 cities of Italy were reached by them; Και
 προτερον περι την Ιεραν νησον· αυτη δ' εστι μια των
 Αιολου καλουμενων νησων· εν ταυτη γαρ εξανωδει τι της
 γης, και αυθει οισιν λοφωδης ογκος μετα ψοφου· τελος δε
 ραγεντος, εξηλθε πνευμα πολυ, και τον φεψαλλον, και
 την τεφραν ανηνεγε, και την τε Λιπαραικων· πολιν, ου-
 σαν ου πορρω, πασαν κατατεφρωσε, και εις ενιας των
 εν Ιταλια πολεων ηλθε. The philosopher con-
 jectures, that vapours flow underneath the
 earth,

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earth, and particularly about this island : for the rising of a south wind is predicted by a sound of the places which expire ; and this he supposes is occasioned by a conflict between the sea and the included vapours ;

Τεκμηριον δ' ἐστὶν τὸ εἶναι ὑπὸ γῆν τα πνευματα, καὶ τὸ γιγνομενον περὶ ταυτας τας νησος· οταν γαρ ἀνέμος μέλλῃ πνευσσεῖσθαι Νοτος, προσσημαίνει πρότερον· ηχουσι γαρ οἱ τοποι ἐξ ὧν γινεται τα ἀναφυσήματα, διὰ τὸ τὴν θάλασσαν μὲν προωδεῖσθαι καὶ πορρωθεν· ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτης τὸ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυσωμενον ἀποδεῖσθαι πάλιν εἰσω, ἥπερ ἐπερχεται ἡ θάλαττα ταύτη. Strabo says, that these islands are seven in number : that Lipara is the largest, and lies nearest to Sicily except Thermissa ; Εἰσι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, μέγιστη δὲ ἡ Λιπαρά Κνιδίων ἀποικος, ἐγγυτάτῃ τῆς Σικελίας, κείμενη, μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Θερμισσαν. Strabo seems to have mentioned Hierā here under the name of Thermissa : and it is not improbable, that the proper name of the island might be Thermissa, and that Hierā was only an epithet, which expressed that it was sacred to Vulcan : for he presently afterwards mentions an island, which was called in his time the temple of Vulcan, as being between Lipara and Sicily ; he says it is rocky and desert, and vomits fire out of
three

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three several cavities ; Ταυτης δε μεταξυ πως
 εστι και της Σικελιας, ην νυν Ιερον Ηφαισίου καλουσι,
 πετρωδης πασα και ερημος, διαπυρος· εχει δε αναπνοας
 τρεις, ως αν εκ τριων κρητηρων. This is the very
 situation of Hierā, and we may observe,
 that he says particularly, that it is ποτι call-
 ed Ιερον Ηφαισίου, intimating thereby, that it
 had another name before, which was prob-
 ably Thermissa. Besides, when he re-
 sumes the thread of his discourse, after a
 digression, he says he has already spoken of
 Lipara and Thermissa. Την μεν δε Λιπαραν και
 την Θερμισσαν ειρηκα μεν, whereas he has de-
 scribed only Lipara, and that which he calls
 Hieron Vulcani, which must consequently
 be the same with Thermissa. The next, he
 mentions, is Strongyle, which emits fire
 also ; but the flame is less violent, and more
 bright ; he adds that Aeolus is said to have
 inhabited this island : Η δε Στρογγυλη καλειται
 μεν απο του σχηματος· εστι δε και αυτη διαπυρος· βια
 μεν φλογος λειπομενη, το δε φεγγει πλεονεκτουσα· εν-
 ταιδα δε τον Αιολον οικησαι φασιν. According to
 this ancient geographer, Didyme is the
 fourth, then Ericusa and Phoenicusa, and
 the seventh and last is Euonymos. I shall
 refer

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refer the learned reader to the passage which Strabo quotes from Posidonius, as it is too long to be here inserted. He will there find mention of a most extraordinary rising of the sea between Hieræ and Euonymus, whence we may easily imagine how natural it was for the poets to suppose these places to be the kingdom of storms. Diodorus, who being a Sicilian ought to be best acquainted with these islands, calls them by the same names with those already recited by Strabo, though not in the same order; only instead of Thermiffa, he uses the more modern name of *Ιερα*, and *Ιερα Ηφαιστίου*; whence the learned Casaubon thinks we ought to read in Strabo, *ἡν νυν Ιεραν Ηφαιστίου καλοῦσιν*, instead of *Ιερον*, that is, *Hiera Vulcani*, instead of *the temple of Vulcan*. Diodorus calls them *Aeolides* and the islands of *Aeolus*. He says they all emitted fire, as may be seen by the remains of the cavities, out of which it had formerly issued: and that there were great eruptions of sand and burning stones, with a hideous noise, from *Strongyle* and *Hiera* even in his time. He adds, that some affirm, that the subterraneous caverns

of

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of these islands communicated with those of Aetna; because they threw up the same materials, and raged alternately with them. What he says of the antiquities of the islands of Aeolus is very much to our present purpose. They were uninhabited, till Liparus flying from Italy landed in one of them, and called it Lipara, after his own name, as he did also a city, which he built therein. He extended his dominion also over the other islands, and caused their land to be cultivated. When this Liparus was grown old, Aeolus, the son of Hippotas, happened to come to Lipara, where he married Cyane, the daughter of Liparus, and was constituted king of that island. The father afterwards returned to Italy, and having gained possession of Syrrerentum, reigned there with universal applause, and was buried with great honour. We may conclude, that after the retirement of Liparus, Aeolus became king of all these islands; for we find, that his sons extended their dominion over part of Italy also and Sicily. The learned reader will find all this in the fifth book of Diodorus Siculus. Pliny makes Liparus the

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the successor of Aeolus ; “ Lipara cum civium Romanorum oppido, dicta a Liparo rege, qui successit Aeolo.” Perhaps we ought to read *cui successit Aeolus*. He makes the ancient name of Hieras to be Therasia, instead of Thermisus, says it is called Hieras because it is sacred to Vulcan, and adds, that there is a hill there, which flames in the night ; “ Inter hanc et Siciliam altera, antea Therasia appellata, nunc Hieras, qui sacra Vulcano est, colle in eo nocturnas evomente flammæ.” He mentions Strongyle as the kingdom of Aeolus, though he had before placed his throne in Lipara, and says that the flame of it is brighter than that of Lipara, and that the inhabitants are said to observe the smoke, and thence predict three days beforehand what winds will blow ; whence Aeolus is said to have commanded the winds : “ Tertia Strongyle, a Lipara M. pass. ad exortum solis vergens, in qua regnavit Aeolus, quæ a Lipara liquidiore flamma tantum differt : e cujus fumo, quinam flaturi sint venti, in triduum prædicere incolæ traduntur ; unde ventos
“ Aeolo

“ Aeolo paruisse existimatum.” He mentions the other five, under the same names, and in the same order with Strabo. Pomponius Mela mentions the seven islands of Aeolus, and says they are continually burning; but he calls Enonymos, Osteodes, and places it first; “ Propter Italiam Galata, et
 “ illae septem, quas Aeoli appellant, Osteo-
 “ des, Lipara, Didyme, Phoenicusa, Eri-
 “ cusa, Hieria, et Strongyle.” Solinus calls these islands *Ἡφαιστίας*, or Vulcanian, the seat of the god of fire. Lipara was so called from Liparus, the predecessor of Aeolus; Hieria is sacred to Vulcan; and is famous for a burning mountain: Strongyle is the habitation of Aeolus, has a clearer flame; and its smoak informs the inhabitants what winds will blow three days afterwards; whence Aeolus was reputed to be the king of the winds; the others are Didyme, Eri-
 “ cusa, Phoenicusa, and Euonymos; “ In
 “ freto Siculo *Ἡφαιστίας* insulae xxv. millibus
 “ passuum ab Italia absunt. Itali Vulca-
 “ nias vocant. Nam et ipsae natura soli ignea,
 “ per occulta commercia aut mutantur
 “ Aetnae incendia, aut subministrant. Hic
 “ dictae

DISSERTATION XII. 145

“ dictae sedes deo ignium. Numero sep-
 “ tem sunt. Liparae nomen dedit rex Li-
 “ parus, qui eam ante Aeolum rexit. Al-
 “ teram Hieram vocaverunt: ea praecipue
 “ Vulcano sacra est, et plurimum colle emi-
 “ nentissimo nocte ardet. Strongyle tertia,
 “ Aeoli domus, vergit ad solis exortus, mi-
 “ nime angulosa, quae flammis liquidiori-
 “ bus differt a ceteris. Haec causa efficit,
 “ quod ex ejus fumo potissimum incolae
 “ praesentiscunt, quinam flatus in triduo
 “ portendantur: quo factum ut Aeolus rex
 “ ventorum crederetur. Ceteras, Didymen,
 “ Ericusam, Phoeniceusam, Euonymum,
 “ quoniam similes sunt, dictas habemus.”

We may conclude from what has been here
 said, that by Aeolia we are to understand
 the Aeolian islands.

DISSERTATION XIII.

Of the Arae.

(a) SERVIUS tells us, that these rocks which the poet calls *Arae* lie between Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, and Italy; and that they were called altars by the Italians, because a peace was there concluded between the Africans and the Romans; whence they had the epithet *propitiae* bestowed on them by Sisenna. He quotes a passage from Varro, *de ora maritima*, which shows, that these Altars were between Sicily and Sardinia “ Ut
“ faciunt ii, qui ab Sardinia Siciliam, aut
“ contra petunt. Nam si utramque ex con-
“ spectu amiserunt, sciunt periculose se na-
“ vigare, ac verentur in pelago latentem insu-
“ lem, quem locum vocant Aras.” These
altars

(a) “ Tres notus abreptas in Saxa latentia tor-
“ quet:
“ Saxa vocant Itali, mediisque in fluctibus,
“ aras.”

DISSERTATION XIII. 147

altars are supposed to be the islands called Aegates, which lie near Lilybaeum. Florus says, that the first Punick war was finished at the islands called Aegates; "Lutatio Catulo consule, tandem bello finis impositus, apud insulas, quibus nomen Aegates." Cornelius Nepos, in the life of Hamilcar says, the Carthaginians, being overcome at sea by the Roman Consul Lutatius, near the islands Aegates, determined to make an end of the war; "Interim Carthaginienes classe apud insulas Aegates a C. Lutatio consule Romanorum superati, statuerunt belli finem facere eamque rem arbitrio permiserunt Hamilcaris." Polybius, who relates this action more at large, informs us that the Carthaginians sent a fleet with provisions to supply their army, which lay near Eryx: that this fleet anchored at Hiera, which is one of the Aegates: that Lutatius, rightly judging that the intent of this fleet was to relieve the Carthaginian camp, sailed to Aegusa, another of the Aegates, lying near Lilybaeum, in order to intercept them: that he

L 2 fought

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fought with them the next morning, and entirely defeated them; whereupon the Carthaginians found themselves under a necessity of making peace with the Romans on as good terms as they could get. Now we have the concurrent testimony of these three historians, who, I believe, are all that have mentioned this action, that this victory was obtained by the Romans over the Carthaginians near the islands Aegates, which lie a little to the westward of Sicily: but not one of them has given the least hint, that these islands were called Altars. Nor do they confirm the assertion of Servius, that they were called Altars, because the peace was there made; "*Quae saxa ob hoc Itali Aras vocant, quod ibi Afri et Romani foedus inierunt.*" On the contrary Polybius expressly affirms, that after the victory, the consul returned, with his whole fleet to Lilybaeum, where he divided the plunder and prisoners amongst his soldiers. It must have been here therefore, and not in any of the small islands, that he treated with the Carthaginians. I am apt to think,
that

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that Servius, having read in Florus and Cornelius Nepos, that the war was ended at the Aegates, understood them to mean, that the war there ended by the conclusion of a peace; whereas, by comparing them with Polybius, we find, that they intended only to speak of the decisive battle, which in effect put an end to the war. This notion therefore, that they were called Altars, because the contending parties swore upon them, as if they had been consecrated altars, seems to be wholly without foundation. Nor can these islands be the altars here mentioned by Virgil; for we find, by what has been said above, that two of them were capable of harbouring very large fleets; and consequently could not be described as hidden rocks, *saxa latentia*. Besides the Aegates were conspicuous enough, and lay too near the Lilybaean promontory of Sicily, to be distinguished by being in the midst of the waves; *mediis in fluctibus*. It may perhaps be more difficult to say, where these dangerous rocks were situated, than where they were not. But if we will give

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credit to the passage quoted from Varro by Servius ; we shall find that they were in the open sea, near the ordinary passage between Sicily and Sardinia : for the navigators were not in danger from them, unless they had lost sight of those two islands. Perhaps they were something nearer to the coast of Africa. In order to have a tolerable idea of the present situation of the Trojan navy, it may not be amiss to recapitulate what has been already said concerning their voyage. But first it will be necessary to premise, that they set sail from Drepanum, a port to the northward of the Lilybean promontory ; as may be gathered from the latter end of the third book. Their course was directed to the mouth of the Tyber : and therefore they must have sailed with the wind at south. They had just lost sight of Sicily, when Juno determined to frustrate their voyage ;

“ Vix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum
 “ Vela dabant laeti.

They were got into the Tyrrhene sea ;

“ Gens

DISSERTATION XIII. 151

“ Gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat
“ aequor.”

They had therefore sailed considerably to the northward, and had probably accomplished at least half their voyage; when Aeolus let loose the winds against them. The storm began from the south-east, south, and south-west; “ Una Eurusque, Notus-
“ que ruunt, creberque procellis Africus.” These winds must necessarily drive them nearer to Italy; for they blew against that coast; and therefore Virgil immediately adds;

“ Et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus.”

Here indeed they might have been shipwrecked; but some might have escaped, and landed in Italy, which would have been directly contrary to the intention of Juno. Aeolus therefore sends out the north or north-east, which blows with extreme fury, stirs up the sea from the very bottom, and almost oversets the admiral. The whole fleet therefore, however scattered already, as long as this wind predominated,

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must have been driven far away from Italy, toward the coast of Africa. Now the wind changes again to the south, and drives them again from Africa, when three of the vessels had the misfortune to split against these hidden rocks, which were called the altars, and seem to have lain to the south-west of Sicily.

DISSER-

DISSERTATION XIV.

Of the Goddess Juno.

THE great Phenician goddess Astarte, who was the same with Juno and the moon, was called the *queen of heaven*. Under this name she was worshipped by the idolatrous Jews; as is particularly mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah; “Seest thou not what
 “they do in the cities of Judah, and in the
 “streets of Jerusalem? The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the
 “fire, and the women knead their dough
 “to make cakes to the *queen of heaven*, and
 “to pour out drink-offerings unto other
 “gods, that they may provoke me to anger.” Frequent mention is also made of her, under the name of the *queen of heaven*, in the forty-fourth chapter. We also find her frequently spoken of under the name of Ashtaroth, and Ashtoreth. Thus, in the book of Judges, it is said, that the
 genera-

generation, which succeeded Joshua, *forsook the Lord and served Ashtaroth*. In the first book of Samuel, we are told, that the Jews, being exhorted by that prophet *put away Baalim and Ashtaroth, and served the Lord only*. He also, in a speech which he makes to all Israel, puts them in mind of their fathers having served *Baalim and Ashtaroth*, in the days of the Judges: and when Saul was slain, we find that the Philistines *put his armour in the house of Ashtaroth*. In the first book of Kings, we are told, that *Solomon went after Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians*: and in the second book of Kings, he is said to have *builded high places for Ashtoreth the abomination of the Zidonians*. Milton alludes to this, when he introduces this deity, as one of the fallen angels;

“ ————— With these in troop
 “ Canst Ashtoreth, whom the Phœnicians
 “ call’d
 “ Astarte, queen of heaven, with crescent
 “ horns;
 “ To whose bright image nightly by the
 “ moon

“ Sidonian

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" Sidonian virgins paid their vows and
 " songs,
 " In Sion also not unsung, where stood
 " Her temple on th' offensive mountain,
 " built
 " By that uxorious king, whose heart tho'
 " large,
 " Beguil'd by fair idolatresses, fell
 " To idols foul.

That Astarte and Juno were the same, seems pretty evident from this common appellation of *queen* which was given to both of them: and this is confirmed also by S. Augustin, who speaking of the Phenicians, says expressly, that Juno was called by them Astarte. " Juno sine dubitatione ab illis
 " Astarte vocatur." It will here be objected perhaps that Cicero, in his third book *de Natura deorum*, where he says there were four different goddesses called by the name of Venus, tells us, that one of them was a Syrian, born at Tyre, and called Astarte;
 " Quarta Syria, Tyroque concepta, quae
 " Astarte vocatur, quam Adonidi nupsisse
 " traditum est." But let it be considered,

in

in answer to this, that Venus was never called *queen of the gods*, or thought to be the same with the moon: and it is universally agreed, that Astarte had horns on her head, to represent the moon. It may also be objected, that the moon is not Juno, but Diana. I will not deny, that the Romans usually esteemed the moon, and Diana to be the same: but it is certain at the same time, that this goddess was invoked by women in labour under the name of Juno Lucina. Besides, the most learned of the Romans, Varro himself, in his fifth book *de Lingua Latina*, plainly shews, that Juno was accounted the same with the moon, by the ancient Roman priests; “ Primi dies
 “ mensium nominati Calendae, ab eo quod
 “ heis diebus calentur ejus mensis Nonae
 “ a pontificibus, quintanaene an septimanae
 “ sint futurae, in Capitolio in curia cala-
 “ bra sic dictae, quinque calo Juno novel-
 “ la; septem calo Juno novella.” Livy, in his twenty-seventh book, mentions a temple of *Juno Regina*, on the Aventine mount, during the Carthaginian or Punick wars, which was struck by lightning, up-
 on

on which the Aruspices declared, that it belonged to the matrons to appease her with gifts; “*Tacta de caelo aedes in Aventino*” “*Junonis reginae, prodigiumque id ad matronas pertinere aruspices cum respondissent, donaque divam placendam esse, aedilium curulium edicto in Capitolium convocatae, quibus in urbe Roma, intraque decimum lapidem ab urbe domicilia essent, ipsae inter se quinque et viginti delegerunt, ad quas ex dotibus stipem conferrent, inde donum pelvis aurea facta, lataque in Aventinam, pureque et caste a matronis sacrificatum.*” This extraordinary care of sacrificing to Juno at that time seems to have been, because she was the great goddess of the Carthaginians, by whose arms the Roman empire was then in great danger of being subverted. Virgil himself, in the twelfth Aeneid, insinuates that the Romans excelled all other nations in the worshipping of Juno; for he makes Jupiter tell Juno as much, to comfort her for the success of Aeneas;

“*Nec gens ulla tuos aequè celebrabit honores.*”

But

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But to return to Livy, he adds, that the Romans were not contented with the above-mentioned sacrifice; but that another also was ordered by the *Decemviri*, after the following manner; Two white heifers were led from the temple of Apollo through the Carmental gate into the city, after which were carried two cypress images of *Juno Regina*; then marched seven and twenty virgins, singing in honour of *Juno Regina*. These were followed by the *Decemviri* in their robes, with crowns of bay on their heads. When the procession was arrived at the *forum*, they made a halt, and the virgins *accompanying their voices with the motion of their feet*, went on to the temple of *Juno Regina*, where they placed the two cypress images, and made an offering of the two heifers: “ *Confestim ad aliud sacrificium*
 “ *eidem divae ab decemviris edicta dies,*
 “ *cujus ordo talis fuit: ab aede Apollinis*
 “ *boves faeminae albae duae porta carmen-*
 “ *tali in urbem ductae post eas duo signa*
 “ *cupressia Junonis reginae portabantur.*
 “ *Tum septem et viginti virgines longam*
induae

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“induae vestem, carmen in Junonem re-
 “ginam canentes ibant: illa tempestate
 “forsitan laudabile rudibus ingeniis nunc
 “abhorrens et inconditum, si referatur,
 “Virginum ordinem sequebantur Decem-
 “viri coronati laureis praetextatique, a por-
 “ta Jugario vico in forum venere, in foro
 “pompa constitit: & per manus recte data,
 “virgines sonum vocis pulsu pedum modu-
 “lantes incesse-
 “labroque per Boarium forum in clivum
 “publicum, atque aedem Junonis reginae
 “perrectum. Ibi duae hostiae ab Decem-
 “viris immolatae, et simulachra cupressia
 “in aedem illata.”

Here we may observe, that the Juno
 worshipped on this occasion is particularly
 called *Regina* or *Queen*; that the virgins went
 in procession to her with a measured step,
 keeping time with their song: and that two
 cypress images were carried, and set up in
 her temple. Now the images of the queen
 of heaven, Ashtaroth, Ashtoreth, or Astarte,
 were certainly made of wood; for we fre-
 quently read of their being cut in pieces
 and

and burnt. It is also observable, that אַשְׁתָּרֹת *Ashtaroth*, as it is written in the books of Judges and Samuel is the dual number; and that it is rendered ταῖς Ἀστάρταις by the septuagint: which seems to show why the Romans carried just *two* wooden images in procession. I shall conclude with desiring the learned to consider, whether Isaiah may not allude to this idolatrous step, used in the worship of the queen of heaven, when he censures the women of his time for *walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet*, according to our translation, or as it is in the Latin, “*Ambulabant pedibus suis et composito gradu incedebant.*” This seems to be farther confirmed by the mention which the prophet makes presently afterwards of the *lunulae*, or *round tires like the moon*, among their ornaments of dress, which Cornelius a Lapide thus interprets; “*Erant monilia corniculata instar lunae: haec vel in capite, quasi diademata, vel in collo, vel in veste gestabant.*” These *lunulae*, or *little moons* seem to have been worn in honour

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nour of Ashtoreth, who, as has been already observed, wore horns on her head, to represent the moon.

M DISSER.

DISSERTATION XV.

Of the Winds (a).

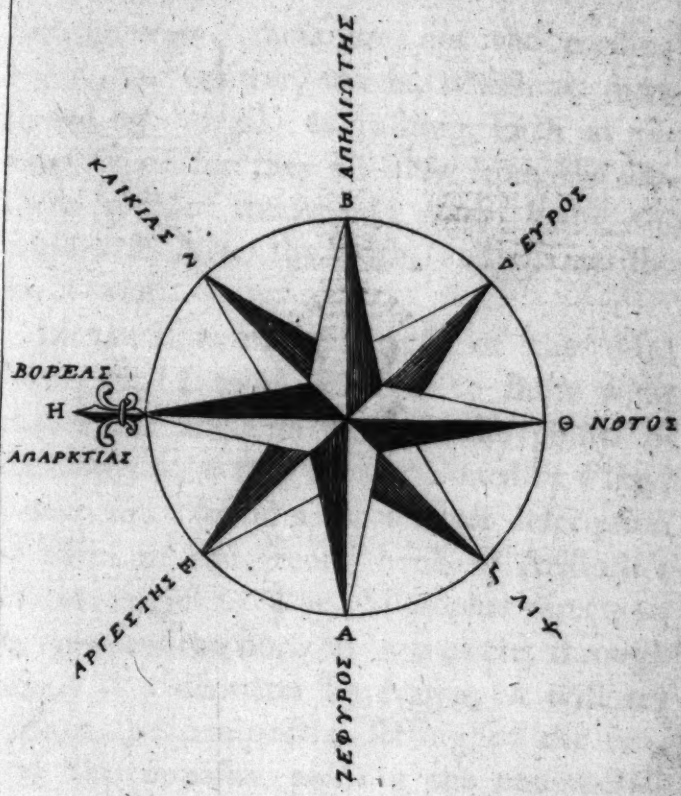
VIRGIL has been censured it seems by some criticks, as being guilty of an absurdity in introducing the winds blowing from all the four cardinal points at once. But the poet did not deviate from nature; for it is certain, that in very great tempests the winds blow from several quarters. Homer has used the very same expression,

Συν δ' Εὐρος, τε Νότος τ' ἔπτεσε, Ζεφυρος τε δυσων,
καὶ βορρῆς.

Thus also Milton, in the fourth book of Paradise regain'd;

———— Nor

(a) “ Incubuerē mari, totumque a sedibus imis
“ Una Eurūque Notūque ruunt, creberque
“ procellis,
“ Africus, et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus.”
Aen. I. 84.





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“ ——— Nor slept the winds
 “ Within their stony caves ; but rush’d
 “ abroad
 “ From the four hinges of the world.”

But however, these are not the cardinal points, nor contrary winds, which are mentioned by Virgil, as rushing forth at the same time : for they all blow from the southern part of the world ; *Eurus* being the south-east, *Notus* the south, and *Africus* the south-west.

In the note on ver. 278. of the third Georgick, I took occasion to show what names the ancients gave to the points of the compass, as they are mentioned by Pliny. I have since found a more exact description of them in the second book of Aristotle’s Meteorologicks. The philosopher directs us to represent the horizon by a circle, through which if a diameter be drawn, A will represent the equinoctial setting of the sun, and the opposite point B the equinoctial rising. Let another diameter be drawn, cutting the former in right angles ; let H be the north ; and the opposite point © will be the

M 2

south.

south. Let Z be the summer rising, and E the summer setting; Δ the winter rising, and Γ the winter setting. Let a diameter be drawn from Z to Γ, and from Δ to E. He then tells us, that Zephyrus blows from A, Apeliotes from B, Boreas and Aparctias from H, Notus from Θ, Caecias from Z. Libs from Γ, Eurus from Δ, and Argestes, Olympias, or Sciron from E : Πλεισίον δ' ἀπέχει

κατὰ τόπον τὰ κείμενα πρὸς ἀλλήλα κατὰ διαμέτρων, εἴω οὖν τὸ μὲν ἐφ' οὗ Α, δυσμὴ ἰσημερινή· ἐναντίος δὲ τούτῳ τόπος ἐφ' οὗ Β, ἀνατολὴ ἰσημερινή· ἄλλη δὲ διάμετρος ταύτην πρὸς ὀρθὴν τεμνοῦσα, ἥς τὸ ἐφ' οὗ Η, εἴω ἀρκτός· τούτῳ δ' ἐναντίον ἐξ ἐναντίας, τὸ ἐφ' οὗ Θ, μεσημβρία· τὸ δὲ ἐφ' οὗ Ζ, ἀνατολὴ θερινή· τὸ δὲ ἐφ' οὗ Ε, δυσμὴ θερινή· τὸ δὲ ἐφ' οὗ Δ, ἀνατολὴ χειμερινή· τὸ δὲ ἐφ' οὗ Γ, δυσμὴ χειμερινή· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ζ ἤχθω διάμετρος ἐπὶ τὸ Γ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δ ἐπὶ τὸ Ε --- καλεῖται δὲ κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τῶν τόπων τὰ πνεύματα ὡδε. Ζεφυρός μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Α· τούτο γὰρ δυσμὴ ἰσημερινή· ἐναντίος δὲ τούτῳ Ἀπηνλιώτης ἀπὸ τοῦ Β· τούτο γὰρ ἀνατολὴ ἰσημερινή. Βόρεας δὲ καὶ Ἀπαρκτίας ἀπὸ τοῦ Η, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἡ ἀρκτός· ἐναντίος δὲ τούτῳ Νότος ἀπὸ τοῦ Θ· μεσημβρία τε γὰρ αὕτη ἀφ' ἧς πνεῖ, καὶ τὸ Θ τῷ Η ἐναντίον, κατὰ διάμετρον γὰρ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ζ, Καικίας· αὕτη γὰρ ἀνατολὴ θερινή· ἐναντίος γὰρ οὐχ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ε πνεῖ, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Γ Λιψ' οὗτος

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οὗτος γὰρ ἀπὸ δυσμῆς χειμερινῆς πνεῖ· ἐναντίος γὰρ
 τούτῳ, κατὰ διαμέτρον γὰρ κεῖται· ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δ
 Εὐρος· οὗτος γὰρ ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς χειμερινῆς πνεῖ, γειτ
 νίων τῷ Νοτῳ· διὸ καὶ πολλὰκις Εὐρονοτοὶ λεγόνται
 πνεῖν· ἐναντίος δὲ τούτῳ, οὐχ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Γ Λιψ, ἀλλ'
 ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ε, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ μὲν Ἀργεσίνην, οἱ δὲ
 Ὀλυμπίαν, οἱ δὲ Σκιρῶνα· οὗτος γὰρ ἀπὸ δυσμῆς θερι
 νῆς πνεῖ, καὶ κατὰ διαμέτρον αὐτῷ κεῖται ὁ ὅλος. This
 account agrees well with that given by
 Pliny: only this author, as well as Aulus
 Gellius makes Boreas to be the north-east,
 whereas according to Aristotle it is the
 north.

DISSERTATION XVI.

Of the Palladium.

DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus gives the following account of the Palladium extracted from Callistratus; who wrote a history of Samothracia, Satyrus, a collector of ancient fables, and Aratinus, the most ancient poet that he had read: “ Chryses, “ the daughter of Palas, when she was “ married to Dardanus, brought him a “ dower consisting of presents from Minerva; the *Palladia*, and the rites of the “ greater gods, whose mysteries she had “ learned. Afterwards the Arcadians, flying from the deluge, left Peloponnesus, “ and settled in the island Thracia, where “ Dardanus erected a temple to these deities, not revealing their proper names “ to any one, and instituted those rites, “ by which the Samothracians are to this “ day initiated. But when he led the “ greatest

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“ greatest part of the people into Asia, he
 “ left the rites and mysteries of the gods
 “ with those who remained in the island ;
 “ but carried the *Palladia* and images of the
 “ gods with him. And when he inquired of
 “ an oracle, about his settlement, and how
 “ the holy things were to be preserved, he
 “ received the following answer ;

“ Εἰς πόλιν ἢ κτισήτε, θεοῖς σέβας ἀφδιτον αἰεὶ
 “ Θειναί, καὶ φυλακαῖς τε σέβειν θυσῖαις τε χοροῖς τε.
 “ Εὐτ’ ἂν γὰρ ταδὲ σέμνα κατ’ ἐμπετραν χώραν ἢ
 “ Δωρα Διὸς κόρης ἀλοχού σέβειν, ἢ δὲ πόλις σοί
 “ Ἑσθαι ἀπορρήτος τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον ἡμᾶτα πάντα :

that is,

*Establish a perpetual worship of the gods in the
 city that thou shalt build, and honour them
 with guards, sacrifices and dances. For so
 long as the gifts, which the daughter of Jupi-
 ter gave to thy wife, shall continue sacred in
 thy country, thy city shall stand impregnable
 against all assaults.*

“ Dardanus therefore deposited these
 “ images in the city, which he builded, and
 “ called after his own name. But in later
 “ times, when *Ilium*, or *Troy*, came to be
 M 4 inhabited,

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“ inhabited, his descendants carried the
 “ holy things thither; and the Ilians dedi-
 “ cated a temple and shrine to them in the
 “ citadel; where they were kept with the
 “ utmost care, being thought to have been
 “ sent from heaven, and to contain within
 “ themselves the safety and preservation of
 “ the city. Afterwards, when the lower
 “ city was taken, Aeneas got possession of
 “ the citadel, and took away with him the
 “ images of the gods, and the remaining
 “ *Palladium*; for the other was stollen away
 “ in the night by Ulysses and Diomedes.
 “ With these Aeneas fled out of the city,
 “ and carried them into Italy. But Ara-
 “ tinus says, that only one *Palladium* was
 “ given to Dardanus by Jupiter, and that
 “ it was kept in Troy, concealed in a shrine,
 “ till the city was taken: that another
 “ image was made exactly like it, which
 “ was exposed to view; and that it was
 “ stollen by the Grecians.” Clemens of
 Alexandria says, the famous *Palladium*,
 which was pretended to have fallen from
 Jupiter, and said to have been stollen from
 Troy by Diomedes and Ulysses, and lodged
 by

by them with Demophoon, was made of the bones of Pelops ; for which he quotes the authority of Dionysius ; Πολλοὶ δ' ἂν ταχὰ πούδασειαν εἰ μάθοιεν τὸ Παλλάδιον, τὸ Διοπέτερος καλούμενον, ὁ Διομήδης καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς ἰσθόρουνται μὲν ὑφ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Ἰλίου, παρακαταδεσδαὶ δὲ Δημοφῶντι, ἐκ τῶν Πελοπὸς ὀστέων κατασκευασταί, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἐξ ἄλλων ὀστέων Ἰνδικοῦ θύριον· καὶ δὴ τὸν ἰσθόρουσα Διοκυσίαν ἐν τῷ πεμπίῳ μερεῖ τοῦ κυκλοῦ περιστήμι. We learn from Herodian, that this image, which was said to be carried from Troy to Italy, was kept with such secrecy in the temple of Vesta, that it had never been seen, till the conflagration of that temple, in the time of Commodus, discovered it, when the Vestal virgins were obliged to remove it to the court of the emperor. Ὅτε καὶ τῆς Ἑστίας τοῦ νέου καταφλεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός, γυμνῶν ὡφθῇ τὸ τῆς Παλλάδος ἀγάλμα, ὁ σέβουσι τε καὶ κρυπτοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, κομῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας, ὡς λόγος, ὅτε πρῶτον καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰλίου εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀφίξιν, εἶδον οἱ κατ' ἡμᾶς ἀνδρῶποι· ἀρπασάσαι γὰρ τὸ ἀγάλμα αἱ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερεῖαι παρθενοὶ, διὰ μέσης τῆς ἱερᾶς οἴου εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλεως αὐλὴν μετεκομίσαν.

DISSERTATION XVII.

Of the Trojan Horse (a).

THE stratagem of the Trojan Horse is by some criticks treated as a fable. They think it improbable, that such an engine could be framed and made moveable; or that any men in their senses would run the hazard of concealing themselves therein. But these must surely be unacquainted with the military machines used by the Romans. The wooden towers which they erected, and moved on wheels to the walls of besieged towns were of a stupendous magnitude. Caesar, in the second book of his Gallic war, speaks of one of his own raising, which must have been very considerable: for he says the walls of the town were very lofty, “quem locum duplici muro *altissimo* munierunt;” and the tower must have been

(a) “Instar montis equum divina Palladis arte
 “Aedificant, sectaque intexunt abiete costas.”
 Aen. II. 15.

DISSERTATION XVII. 171

been at least equal to the height of the wall, to be of any service. He tells us that the Gauls at first made a jest of the Romans, imagining, like our criticks, that it was impossible for such little men to move such weighty engines. But when they saw the tower actually approach their walls, they changed their opinion, and submitted to the Romans, as to people favoured particularly by the gods, without whose immediate assistance they could not have moved such a large and lofty tower. Caesar does not mention indeed the exact dimensions of this tower: but we are informed by authors of credit, that the Romans made some which were 180 feet high, square, each side containing about 35 feet, divided into twenty stories. A poet, who compares a machine of such dimensions to a mountain, will perhaps be thought not very extravagant. As for the danger that attended this enterprize, it must be confessed to have been very great; but yet not greater, than what many brave men have exposed themselves to in more modern wars. We need not therefore have recourse to any of those imaginations, that
the

the Grecians made use of an engine called a horse, as another is known to have been called a ram; that a gate of the city, over which a horse was figured, was opened by treachery; that the Trojans were overcome in a battle between the cavalry of both armies; or that the city was taken by the Grecians lying in ambush on a mountain called Hippius: since there is no difficulty in conceiving that it was literally taken by a vast wooden engine in the shape of a horse, in which a considerable number of bold warriors were concealed. But however Virgil is sufficiently justified by the authority of Homer, who more than once informs us, that Troy was taken by a machine in form of a horse, as Virgil has described it.

DISSERTATION XVIII.

Of the Amaracus (a).

THE *Amaracus* or *sampsuchum* of the ancients seems to be what we commonly call *sweet Marjoram*. Theophrastus says it has a *soft* smell, οσμη δε μαλακωτερα, by which I suppose he means *mild*, not so strong as that of many other aromatics. Hence Virgil calls it *mollis amaracus*: and hence it seems probable, that the true reading in Pliny is *odore mollius* instead of *melius* as it is commonly found. The smell of this
plant

(a) “ At Venus Ascanio placidam per mem-

“ bra quietem

“ Irrigat, et fœtum gremio dea tollit in

“ altos

“ Idaliae lucos: ubi mollis *amaracus* illum

“ Floribus et dulci adspirans complectitur

“ umbra.”

Aen. I. 691,

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plant is said to cause sleep : therefore it was proper for Venus to make use of on this occasion, when she wanted to lull Ascanius to sleep : and hence he is said to be covered *dulci umbra*. The best marjoram is said to grow in Cyprus, the very place to which Ascanius was transported.

DISSER-

DISSERTATION. XIX.

Of the Vestibulum (a).

IT is not certain, in what sense the ancients used the word *Vestibulum*. Some critics think it was a porch, that sheltered the gate: whilst others contend, that it was an *area* or open place before the house, and not any part of the building. Plautus in *Act.* 3. *Sc.* 2. of his *Mostellaria*, seems to describe it as a porch;

“ T R. Viden’ *vestibulum* ante aedes? hoc
“ et ambulacrum cuimodi?”

“ T H. Luculentum edepol. T R. Age,
“ *specta postes*, cuimodi,
“ Quanta firmitate, et quanta crassitudine.”

Caecilius Gallus, as he is quoted by Aulus Gellius, has defined the *vestibulum* to be not in the house itself, nor any part of the house, but a vacant place before the gate,
by

(a) See Aen. II. 469.

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by which there is an access to the house from the street. "Caecilius Gallus, in libro de significatione verborum quae ad jus civile pertinent secundo, *vestibulum esse* dicit *non in ipsis aedibus, neque partem aedium, sed locum ante januam domus vacuum, per quem a via aditus accessusque ad aedes est.*" To this opinion Gellius seems willing to subscribe; though he leaves it at last, as very doubtful. We find an expression similar to this in the sixth Aeneid.

"Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus Orci
"Luctus, et ultrices posuere cubilia curae."

Ovid, in the sixth book of his *Fasti*, is of opinion, that *vestibulum* has its name from *Vesta*; which is derived from *vi stando*, as it also signifies stability in Greek, and that it was no other than the *focus* or hearth, which was anciently at the entrance of the house;

"Stat

DISSERTATION XIX. 177

“ Stat vi Terra sua : *vi stando* Vesta vo-

“ catur :

“ Causaque par Graii nominis esse potest.

“ At focus a flammis, et quod foveat omnia

“ dictus :

“ Qui tamen *in primis aedibus* ante fuit.

“ Hinc quoque *vestibulum* dici reor : inde

“ precando

“ Adfamur Vestam quae loca prima te-

“ net.”

Homer mentions both the *προδομον* and the *προθυρον*, which were certainly different, notwithstanding their being commonly both interpreted by the Latin word *vestibulum*. In the fifteenth *Odyssey*, Minerva finds *Pisistratus* and *Telemachus* sleeping together in the *προδομον* of the palace of *Menelaus* ;

Ευσε δε Τηλεμαχον, και Νεστορος αγαλων υιον,
Ευδοντ' εν προδομω Μενελαου κυδαλιμοιο.

This was probably a spacious portico at the very entrance ; as Pope has rightly translated it ;

“ Beneath the royal portico display'd,

“ With Nestor's son, *Telemachus* was

“ lay'd.”

N

Thus

178 DISSERTATION XIX.

Thus also, when Ulysses, in disguise, approached the house of Eumaeus, he found him sitting in the *προδομον*;

Του δ' αἶε ἐνὶ προδομῶν εὐρ' ἡμενον.

The dogs, which were placed on the outside of the wall, flew at the stranger, who wisely dropped his staff, and sat down quietly to pacify them. The good Eumaeus ran hastily to the *προδυρον* to drive them away;

Εἰσὼν' ἀνα προδυρον.

Hence we may observe, that the *προδυρον* was at some distance from the *προδομον*, in the latter of which Eumaeus sat, and had no less than three hundred and sixty hogs feeding before him, and four large dogs to guard them; and he was obliged to make good haste, to run so far as the *προδυρον*, in order to protect the stranger. Now whether this *προδυρον* was a court yard, or only an open space before the house, whether the Romans called the *προδομον* or the *προδυρον* by the name of *vestibulum*, or whether they used that word for either of them promiscuously,

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ously, may be a matter of some doubt. But this I think is certain, that what the Romans called *Vestibulum* was at the first entrance of palaces and other capital buildings. Cicero, in his second book *de Oratore*, compares the introduction to an oration to the *vestibulum* of a building; “Sed oportet, “ut aedibus ac templis *vestibula* et *aditus*, “sic causis principia proportionem rerum “praeponere.” and again, in his *Orator*, he joins *vestibula* and *aditus ad causam* together. Nor is it less certain, that the *vestibulum* was no part of the main building; for it was not contained under the roof, and it was even before one came to the *limen*, as Cicero has plainly expressed, in his oration for Aulus Caecina; “Quaero si te hodie do- “mum tuam redeuntem coacti homines et “armati, non modo *limine*, *tectoque* aedi- “um tuarum, sed *primo aditu*, *vestibuloque* “prohibuerint, quid acturus sis.” Upon the whole, I cannot but conclude, that the *vestibulum* was a grand portico, at the entrance of the building, which was usually adorned with statues and trophies, as our

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poet himself seems to have described it, in the seventh book ;

“ Quinetiam veterum effigies ex ordine avo-
“ rum

“ Antiqua e cedro, Italusque paterque Sa-
“ binus

“ Vitifator, curvam servans sub imagine
“ falcem,

“ Saturnusque senex, Janique bifrontis imago

“ *Vestibulo* astabant: alii que ab origine
“ reges,

“ Martia qui ob patriam pugnando vulnera
“ passi.”

CRITICAL

CRITICAL
OBSERVATIONS.

B O O K I.

VER. 8. *Quo numine laeso.*] Many difficulties have been unnecessarily raised, about the understanding of this passage. Some understand *quo* to be put for *in quo*, *in what particular a deity being offended*. Others observing, that *numine* is often used for the *power* of a deity, would interpret these words, *what attributes of Juno being offended against*: hence some would read *quo numine laesa*; and others *quo nomine laesa* or *laeso*. But these emendations are wholly conjectural; and not founded on the authority of manuscripts. But the common reading and interpretation seem to be plain enough. The poet asks his muse which of the gods had been of-

N 3

fended,

fended, for several had warred against the Trojans: and why the queen of heaven, in particular, should persecute a man of singular piety. These without doubt are difficult points for a mortal man to settle; and therefore he intreats a goddess to explain to him the equity of these proceedings; and how it is possible for the divine nature to be of a temper so revengeful. He had but a few lines before spoken of Juno and the other gods separately;

“ Vi superum, faevae memorem Junonis
“ ob iram.”

22. *Venturum excidio Lybiae.*] Some take *excidio* to be the ablative case, interpreting this passage to mean, that the people shall become great *by* the destruction of Lybia. This seems a little harsh; wherefore I have chosen to adhere to the more common opinion; that *excidio* is the dative case, and used for *ad excidium*; as, in another place *it clamor caelo* is universally allowed to mean *ad caelum*.

66. *Tollere*

OBSERVATIONS. 183

66. *Tollere vento.*] Some read *tollere ventos*: but *tollere vento*, that is *tollere fluctus vento*, is better. Thus Horace

“ Quo non arbiter Adriae

“ Major *tollere* seu ponere vult *fréta*.”

97. *Mene Iliacis occumbere campis non potuisse.*] Burman tells us, that it is *flammis* instead of *campis*, in one of his manuscripts, and thinks this reading may be justified. He observes, that where we read in Claudian,

“ Aegra caput mediis erexit Graecia *campis*,”

it is in some manuscripts *flammis*. He thinks this reading is countenanced by that exclamation of Aeneas, wherein he calls upon the ashes and *flames* of Troy to bear him witness. However he thinks *campis* agrees better with the story of Diomedes, as also with those of Hector and Sarpedon, who both fell before the burning of Troy. It is surprising, that any person of judgment

could hesitate about the true reading. The very words, which follow immediately, very plainly express, that Aeneas wished, that he had fallen by the hand of Diomedes ;

“ ————Tuaque animam hanc effundere
“ dextra.”

Could Aeneas possibly have fallen by the Trojan flames, and by the hand of Diomedes too? Could the repeated *ubi* in the following lines be referred to the Trojan flames, in which neither Hector nor Sarpedon perished? Nay, what is yet more absurd, if we admit *flammis* we must imagine the river Simois to roll its course through the flames of Troy.

102. *Jaētanti.*] Servius interprets it *inaniter loquenti* ; and confirms this interpretation by a passage in the tenth Aeneid ;

“ ————Atque irrita jurgia jaētat ;

and by another in the ninth ;

“ ————Voces dum jaētāt inanes.”

La Cerda is of the same opinion, and says it properly signifies *jaċtare querelas sine fructu*. This interpretation has been adopted by the old Scottish translator, bishop Douglas ;

“ And all in vane, thus quhil Cneās
“ carpit.”

But notwithstanding these authorities, it is certain, that Virgil never uses *jaċto* for speaking *in vain*, unless some other word is added, to determine it to that signification. Thus *irrita jurgia*, and *voces inanes* are added in the passages quoted by Servius. In the fifth Eclogue we read

“ Ipſi laetitia voces ad ſidera jaċtant
“ Intonſi montes : ”

where I think it is impoſſible to underſtand *voces jaċtant* to mean *ſpeaking in vain*. There is a paſſage ſomething like this in the very Aeneid before us ;

“ Atque illum tales *jaċtantem* peſtore curas.”

this

this cannot mean *in vain*; because the person spoken of is Jupiter himself. I believe it rather signifies *speaking vehemently*, or *with passion*: and would therefore translate it in this place *lamenting*; in which I am countenanced by our best translators. Thus the learned earl of Lauderdale;

“ While thus the prince his cruel fate be-
“ *wails* :”

and Dryden;

“ Thus while the pious prince his fate be-
“ *wails* :”

and the anonymous translation, printed in 1688;

“ *Complaining thus*.”

and Pitt;

“ Thus while he *mourns* ;”

and Strahan;

“ Whilst he thus *plaintive*.”

185. *Hos tota armenta sequuntur.*] Pierius found *quos tota* in some ancient manuscripts; but he says he does not know, that any one has admitted that reading, any more than that of *tot armenta*, which is also to be found in some old copies. He thinks *tota* may have been anciently written with an apostrophe *tot'*, as we find in some ancient writings: but he adds that *tota* is universally acknowledged by the grammarians. In my copy of la Cerda, I find *tot armenta* written in the margin with a pen:

Servius says that Virgil is guilty of innovation; because *armenta* belongs only to the greater animals, such as bulls and horses. But la Cerda defends our poet with some warmth. “ He uses *armenta* here, says “ that learned Commentator, with greater “ propriety, though he might have said “ *greges* without offence. He is therefore “ wrongfully accused by some nibblers. It “ is true that *grex* is more frequently used “ for the smaller cattle, such as sheep, goats, “ and deer, and *armentum* for the larger, “ as bulls and horses. But give us leave “ sometimes to depart from the oracles of “ the

“ the grammarians, as Michael Brutus says,
 “ in his explications of Horace. For the
 “ Greeks use *αγελη*, that is, *grex*, in speak-
 “ ing of oxen. We often read in Homer
 “ *αγελη βοων*, and *ατιμαγελειν* is a verb known
 “ to be applied to Bulls. Pliny, lib. 8.
 “ cap. 8. uses *grex* twice or thrice, in
 “ speaking of elephants and in cap. 15.
 “ *equorum greges*. As others have made use
 “ of these words promiscuously, so also
 “ Virgil the prince of poets. For Ecl. 6.
 “ he says *Aut aliquam in magno sequitur*
 “ *grege*, speaking of kine, and Aen. 6. *Gre-*
 “ *ge de intacto septem juvencos*, in imitation
 “ of whom Horace 2. od. epod. has said
 “ *greges mugientium*. And indeed Varro
 “ 2 Rust. cap. 5. without any regard to
 “ this distinction, writes *Qui gregem armen-*
 “ *torum emere vult, &c.* But yet I observe
 “ something in Virgil not unworthy of him.
 “ He uses *grex* for the smaller, and *armen-*
 “ *tum* for the greater cattle: but when he
 “ changes one for the other, he makes an
 “ addition. For, in the sixth eclogue, he
 “ does not use *grege* alone, but *magno grege*.
 “ So in this place, being willing to de-
 “ scribe

“ scribe the largeness of the stags, he calls
 “ them *armentum* ; as he tells us afterwards,
 “ they were *ingentia corpora*.”

217. *Amisſos longo ſocios, &c.*] Servius
 thinks this alludes to the custom among the
 ancients, of calling the shades of the dead
 to the monuments which were erected for
 them ; which he confirms by theſe paſ-
 ſages ;

“ ———Maneſque vocabat
 “ Hectoreum ad tumulum.”

and

“ ———Animamque ſepulchro
 “ Condimus, et magna ſupremum voce cie-
 “ mus.

He adds, that after thrice invoking the
 name of the deceased, they ſaid *vale, vale,*
vale.

Moſt of the commentators aſſent to this
 interpretation. But here could be no invo-
 cation of the ſhades of their loſt compani-
 ons ; for there is not the leaſt hint of any
 monuments

monuments being erected, to which they might be invited. Besides it does not appear to have been any solemn rite that was now performed; for in that case Aeneas would have presided at it: whereas we find him indulging his grief in private. It seems rather to have been some custom used by the common people, of calling aloud on their missing friends: for we find they were in doubt whether they were alive or dead.

317. *Volucrumque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.*] “The noble Johannes Rutgerius, my uncle, in his *Venusinae lectiones ad Horatium*, not yet published, corrects it *praevertitur Eurum*, and is of opinion that there was the like fault in Horace, *lib. i. Od. 25*, and in like manner corrected it,

“*Aridas frondes hyemis sodali*
“*Dedicat Euro,*”

“and rightly I am persuaded. Silius Italicus, who constantly laid Virgil before him for his pattern, has in *lib. iii. 292*.

“*His mille alipedes turmae, velocior Euris,*
“*Et doctus virgae sonipes in castra ruebant.*”

“and

“ and *lib. iv. de Fama*,

“ ——— *Diros canit improba motus,*

“ *Et gliscit gressu, volucrique citatior Euro*

“ *Terrificis quatit attonitas rumoribus arces.*

“ also in *lib. x. 10.*

“ ——— *Velocior inde*

“ *Haemonio Borea, pennaque citatior ibat,*

“ *Quae redit in pugnas fugientis arundine*

“ *Parthi.*

“ But Nonius Marcel. acknowledges *He-*

“ *brum* in this passage, as does also Priscian,

“ *lib. viii.*” Heinſius apud Burm.

Here Burman laments the cruel fate of learned men, who after death are deprived of the glory which they have merited by their ingenuity and learning. It ſeems Huetius has been ſo presumptuous as to boast of this emendation, as if he himſelf had been the author of it: and has had it unjuſtly aſcribed to him by ſeveral criticks. He can hardly believe that Huetius, who died in 1721, could fail of ſeeing theſe

Lectiones

Leſtiones Venuſinae, which were published in 1719: but he is confident, that he was poſſeſſed of the Paris edition of Horace, printed by Stephanus in 1613, with the notes of Rutgerſius, in which this very emendation is to be found, which was alſo mentioned in Heinfius's edition, in 1636. Yet this very Rutgerſius, who has been defrauded of ſo great an honour, was himſelf a man of ſuch candour, as to acknowledge, that he was indebted for this conjecture to Claudius the ſon of Floreus Chriſtianus. I am not at all inclined to enter into the controverſy about the true author of this conjectural emendation, which is not ſupported by the authority of any one manuſcript. Different perſons might think of it, without borrowing it one from another: but if it was a matter of great conſequence, I ſhould think that la Cerda, who published his Virgil in 1612, was the real author of it. This learned commentator tells us, that he had once thought of ſuch an emendation, and ſays he thinks *Euro* much better than *Hebro* in Horace; becauſe it is more proper to dedicate leaves
to

to Eurus, or any of the winds, than to a river. As for the passage in Horace, it must be allowed, that *Euro* instead of *Hebro* makes very good sense; for the east wind may with great propriety be called the companion of winter; but at the same time, I cannot but think the emendation, as it is called, wholly unnecessary. That ode is plainly an insult upon an old mistress of the poet. She had been a haughty beauty, and had compelled her lovers to wait a long time in the cold, before she would condescend to open her doors. But being now past her prime she must take her turn, and have the mortification to see the young fellows gather the green leaves of Ivy and myrtle, whilst they devote the old withered ones to the Hebrus, the companion of winter;

“ Laeta quod pubes hedera virenti

“ Gaudeat, pullo magis atque myrto,

“ Aridas frondes hyemis sodali

Dedicet Hebro.”

O

Thrace

Thrace is a very cold countrey; and the river Hebrus flows through the middle of it. Therefore the poet, comparing Lydia to a withered leaf, says she is not fit to be gathered, but ought rather to be thrown into a river as cold as herself. It is true, that the east wind may properly be called the companion of winter: but so may the Hebrus too, as it is the principal river of a country remarkable for its coldness. Thus there seems to be no necessity for altering the text of Horace: and yet so licentious are criticks, with regard to their imaginary emendations, that Scaliger would read neither *Hebro* nor *Euro*, but *igni*. As for the passage before us, there seems to be less reason to make any alteration. The principal objection to *Hebrum* in this place is the assertion of Servius, that the Hebrus is a very quiet river: “Multum quidem laudis flumini epitheto addidit; sed falsum est: nam est quietissimus, etiam cum per hyemem crescit.” But in this account of the river Servius seems to be singular: for I do not find any mention of its quietness in any other author. On the contrary

contrary, Plutarch, in his treatise concerning rivers and mountains tells us, that the Hebrus is denominated from its rapidity and whirlpools; Εβρος ποταμος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρακίας, προσηγορίαν εἰληχώς ὑπο τῆς συστροφῆς τῆς καταφοράς τοῦ ὕδατος. Phaedrus also, in the prologue to his third book, speaks of it as a rapid river;

“ Threïssa cum gens numeret auctores suos,
 “ Linoque Apollo sit parens, Musa Or-
 “ pheo,
 “ Qui saxa cantu movit, et domuit feras,
 “ *Hebrique tenuit impetum dulci mora.*”

Horace also speaks of the course of this river being stopped by Orpheus; though he does not particularly name it;

“ ———Gelidove in Haemo,
 “ Unde vocalem temere infecutae
 “ Orphea sylvae,
 “ Arte materna *rapidos morantem*
 “ *Fluminum lapsus, celeresque ventos.*”

Orpheus was a Thracian; Haemus is a mountain of Thrace, and the Hebrus is the

greatest river of Thrace. Ruæus objects to *Hebrum*, that it is not wonderful, that a person on horseback should be swifter than the course of a river: and that *volucris* is an epithet not usually given to a river: wherefore he declares himself in favour of *Eurum*, the discovery of which emendation he ascribes to Huetius. He adds, that the Hebrus is a river of the European Thrace, whereas the Amazons inhabited the Asiatic Thrace. As for the first of these objections, it has been already observed, that Harpalyce did not ride on horseback; so that this is a mistake of Ruæus's own. As for the epithet *volucrem*, it must be acknowledged, that it is not commonly given to a river: but I do not perceive, why a rapid river may not be said to be *volucris*, as well as the wheels of a chariot, of which examples are not wanting in the eighth Æneid;

“ Parte alia Marti currumque rotasque vo-

“ *lucres*

“ Instabant :”

and

and in the tenth ;

“ Interea soror alma monet succurrere Lauso
 “ Turnum, qui *volucris curru* medium se-
 “ cat agmen.”

Arrows, and other missile weapons are frequently called *volucres* ; and Pliny tells us, that the river Tigris is so called from its swiftness ; because that word signifies an arrow in the language of the Medes ;
 “ Sed et de Tigri ipso dixisse conveniat.
 “ Oritur in regione Armenize majoris,
 “ fonte conspicuo in planicie. Loco no-
 “ men Elongosine est. Ipsius, qua tardior
 “ fluit, Diglito : unde concitatur, a *celeri-*
 “ *tate Tigris incipit vocari. Ita appellant*
 “ *Medi sagittam.*” We are told the same by Solinus, who also uses the epithet *volucris* to express the swiftness of its course ;
 “ Primum pigre fluit, non cum suo no-
 “ mine ; at cum fines Medorum inVectus
 “ est, *Tigris dicitur, ita enim Medi nomi-*
 “ *nant sagittam.* Influit in Arethissam la-
 “ cum, omnia pondera sustinentem : cujus
 “ pisces nunquam se alveo Tigridis im-
 “ miscent,

“ miscent, sicut nec amnici pisces in stag-
 “ num transeunt Arethissae, per quem
 “ dissimilis colore *volucris* meat cursu.”

That Hebrus is a river of Europe, and that the Amazons dwelled in Asia, is a matter of fact not to be controverted. But it does not appear, that Harpalyce was an Amazon: for she only resembled those women, in being warlike, and a huntress. The Getae, who took her father prisoner, were Europeans, their country being separated from Thrace by the Danube: her father was a Thracian king: she herself was consequently a Thracian: and therefore it could not be improper to compare the rapidity of her flight to the violent course of the greatest river of her own country. Burman seems to think the slowness of the course of the Hebrus confirmed by a passage in the third epistle of the first book of Horace;

“ Iuli Flore, quibus terrarum militet oris
 “ Claudius Augusti privignus, scire laboro.
 “ Thracane vos, *Hebrusque nivali compede*
 “ *vinctus.*”

But

But it is plain, that the poet here speaks of the Hebrus, when it is frozen: and the course of the most rapid river may be slow, when it is choaked with ice. Thus Virgil, in the third Georgick;

“ Concreſcunt ſubitæ *currenti in flumine*
“ *cruſtæ.*”

“ Undaque jam tergo ferratos ſuſtinet orbes,
“ Puppibus illa prius patuliſ nunc hospita
“ *plauſtris.*”

The ſame critick appeals to a paſſage in the fourth Georgick, where the Hebrus is ſaid *portaffe caput Orphei*, which word *portaffe* he will have to expreſs a quiet ſtream. The words are theſe;

“ Tum quoque marmorea caput a cervice
“ *revulſum,*

“ Gurgite cum medio *portans* Oeagrius
“ *Hebrus*

“ *Volveret.*”

I muſt own, that I do not comprehend, how we can judge from this paſſage, whe-

ther the Hebrus is quiet or rapid : but as for *porto*, I am sure, that it is not always used to express a slow motion : nay it is evidently used for a rapid flight by our poet himself in the fourth Aeneid ;

“ — Ille patris magni parere parabat

“ Imperio : et primum pedibus talaria nectit

“ Aurea ; quae sublimem alis, sive aequora

“ supra,

“ Seu terram, rapido pariter cum flumine

“ portant.”

As for the quotations of *velocior Euro*, *ocior Euro*, &c. they prove no more, than that the poet might have used *Eurum* in this place, if he had pleased : but it seems to be our business rather to discover what he did write than what he might have written.

Servius takes *praevertitur* to mean no more than that she *crossed the river* : but it certainly means to surpass it in speed ; as in the seventh book ;

“ — Non illa colo calathifve Minervae

“ Foemineas assueta manus ; sed praelia virgo

“ Dura pati, cursuque pedum praevertere

“ ventos :

and

and in the twelfth;

“ ————— Quos Imbrafus ipse
 “ Nutrierat Lycia, paribusque ornaverat
 “ armis,
 “ Vel conferre manum, vel equo *praevert-*
 “ *tere ventos.*”

In both these passages, *praevertere ventos* must necessarily mean, not to *cross over* the winds, but to excel them in swiftness.

Servius tells us the Hebrus had its name from Hebrus the son of Haemus and Rhodope. According to Plutarch, Hebrus was the son of Casander king of that countrey by Crotonice, whom the king repudiated, and took Damasippe the daughter of Atrax. This lady was in love with Hebrus, who to avoid her retired into the woods, and employed himself in hunting: but he could not so escape; for she made the king believe, that his son had evil designs upon her. Casander being stung with jealousy pursued his son with his drawn sword, who to avoid his enraged father, threw himself into the Rhombus, which was therefore called afterwards by his name.

325. *Orsus*] *Orsus* does not signify *began*, as it is commonly interpreted, but *spake*; for it is used not only for the beginning, but also for the end of a discourse. Thus we read in the ninth *Aeneid*;

“ ————— *Sic orsus Apollo,*
 “ *Mortales medio aspectus sermone reli-*
 “ *quit.*”

Thus also, in the twelfth *Aeneid*, *Sic Jupiter orsus* is put at the end of the speech of that deity: and Ruæus rightly interprets it, *Sic Jupiter locutus est.*

458. *Atridem.*] The common reading is *Atridas*; which seems to be absurd. The sons of Atreus are two persons, and Priamus is a third: and therefore *saevum ambobus*, or *cruel to both* is nonsense, when three are spoken of. The commentators awkwardly endeavour to make sense of it. Some will have *Atridas* to be put for the Grecian army, and *Priamus* for that of the Trojans. Others think *saevum ambobus* is put for *saevio rem ambobus*, that is, *more cruel than both the Atrides*: but here *Priamumque*,
 coming

coming unfortunately between, spoils all. But the whole difficulty is removed by reading *Atridem* in the singular number, which is admitted by Seneca, in his quotation of this line in his hundred and fourth epistle.

By *Atridem* therefore Agamemnon is to be understood.

573. *Urbem quam statuo vestra est.*] The grammarians are greatly divided about the construction of this passage. Servius observes, that many are of opinion, that it is an Antiptosis, the use of one case for another; *urbem quam statuo* for *urbs quam statuo*: but he thinks it ought rather to be connected with the preceding verse; *vultis regnis his considerare? vultis urbem quam statuo? vestra est.* Others, with whom Ruæus agrees, think that only the order of the words is changed, *urbem quam statuo* for *quam urbem statuo*. The use of the accusative case for the nominative is not without example. Thus Plautus, in the beginning of the fourth act of his *Amphitryo*;

“ Naucratem, quem convenire volui, in
“ navi non erat;

and

and Terence, in the third scene of the fourth act of his *Eunuchus*;

“ ——— *Eunuchum, quem dedisti nobis,
“ quas turbas dedit.”*

Servius also quotes a similar passage from Cato; “ *Agrum quem vir habet, tollitur.*” In these several passages it is plain, that the nominative case is understood; *Naucrates, quem Naucratem convenire volui, in navi non erat; Eunuchus, quem Eunuchum dedisset nobis, quas turbas dedit? Ager, quem agrum vir habet, tollitur*; whereas according to the common construction, the accusative should be understood; *Naucrates, quem convenire volui, &c. Eunuchus, quem dedisti nobis, &c. Ager quem vir habet, tollitur.*

661. *Tyriosque bilingues.*] Some are of opinion, that the Carthaginians are here called *bilingues*, because they spake both the Phenician and the Libyan languages. But I do not see what Venus had to fear from their being acquainted with two languages. But *double-tongued* more properly signifies such persons as speak deceitfully.

The

The Carthaginians are represented by the Romans as wanting sincerity even to a proverb. Livy, speaking of Hannibal, says he had a more than Carthaginian perfidiousness; "Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant; inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio."

731. *Jupiter hospitibus, &c.*] Jupiter was said by the ancients to preside over hospitality: hence he was called ξένιος by the Greeks and *hospitalis* by the Romans. He is here spoken of as the author of the laws of Hospitality, which were always accounted most sacred. Cicero, in his defence of king Deiotarus, who was accused of intending to murder Caesar, whom he entertained in his palace, says that if the king had poisoned him, he might indeed have concealed the fact from men; but could by no means have kept it secret from *Jupiter hospitalis*. "Jovis illius quidem *hospitalis* numen nunquam celare potuisset, homines vero fortasse celavisset." Dido therefore begins
her

her prayer with an invocation of *Jupiter hospitalis*, to assure the Trojans of their safety under the roof of a queen, who knew that the great God would severely punish any breach of the laws of hospitality.

OBSER.

CRITICAL
OBSERVATIONS.
BOOK II.

VER. 118. *Litandum.*] Servius says, *lito* relates only to liquids: but he must be mistaken; for we read in Pliny, “*mola tantum salsa litant, qui non habent thura.*” Surely neither *salted cakes* nor *frankincense* can be said to be liquid.

255. *Tacitae per amica silentia lunae.*] We gather from Pliny, that the moon was said to be *silent*, when it did not appear. In the thirty ninth chapter of the sixteenth book, he tells us, that *silens luna*, *coitus*, and *interlunium* have the same meaning; “*Inter omnes vero convenit, utilissime in coitu ejus sterni, quem diem alii interlunium alii silentis lunae appellant.*” in the thirty third chapter of the eighteenth, that the *coitus* or *interlunium* is when it ceases to appear

pear; "In *coitu* vero, quod *interlunium* vocant, *cum apparere* desierit." But this cannot be the sense of the passage before us; if that is true, which is affirmed by Clemens Alexandrinus and others, that it was the time of the full moon, when Troy was taken. Virgil himself indeed has told us, ver. 340, that the moon shone when the city was entered by the Grecians;

"Addunt se socios Ripheus, et maximus
"annis

"Iphitus, *oblati per lunam*."

Therefore it could not be at the very dark time of the moon. Servius is of opinion, that the moon is only put poetically for the night; in which he is followed by the greatest part of the commentators. For my own part, I rather believe that Virgil intends to point out the decrease of the moon, when that planet does not rise till near midnight. He has told us already, that night came on and covered heaven and earth, and the frauds of the Grecians with its ample shade, which by no means agrees with the
time

time of full moon. The lights, which were shown from the admiral, seem also to intimate that they sailed in the dark; as does the signal, which Helen is said to have given them from the city, as it is mentioned in the sixth book;

“ — Flammam media ipsa tenebat

“ Ingentem, et summa Danaos ex arce vocabat.”

Besides, if they had sailed by moon-light, they might easily have been discovered by the Trojans, as Tenedos lay no more than five miles from the continent. We may therefore understand the poet to mean by *silentia lunae*, not that precise time when the moon is not seen all night long, but only the absence of the moon during the first part of the night. This darkness was *friendly*, or *favourable* to the Grecians, because it covered their intentions from being seen by the enemy. They seem to have chosen this time of the moon, that they might sail without being discovered, and afterwards have the benefit of the moon

to give them light, when they made their assault on the city.

321. *Limina*.] Some read *littora*; but Servius and Donatus acknowledged *limina*. Pierius also found *limina* in an old oblong copy, and in the Medicean, and most of the ancient manuscripts. I find the same reading in the *folio* editions of Milan 1481, Lyons 1517, and Paris 1600, also in the old London edition by Pynson. Ruæus and Cuningham also read *limina*. But it is *littora* in the Venice edition of 1562 in *folio*, and in the Paris editions 1540 and 1541 in *quarto*. Robert Stephens also, Pulman, Guellius, La Cerda, Heinsius, Masvicius, and Burman read *littora*. Catrou contends vehemently for *limina*. “ The correction, “ *says he*, which I have here made in the “ text, gives a good deal of grace to the “ narration of Aeneas. Instead of *cursu-* “ *que amens ad littora tendit*, I have substituted *ad limina*. Pierius is my authority “ that *limina* is found in the greatest part “ of the best manuscripts. The two an- “ cient commentators on Virgil, Donatus “ and Servius, read *limina* in the manu- “ scripts which they made use of. Sup- “ posing

“ posing therefore *limina* to be in the text,
 “ Servius and Donatus have interpreted this
 “ expression differently. The first supposes,
 “ that Panthus was retiring to the temple
 “ of which he was priest. But this is not
 “ probable; for he was but just come out
 “ of it, and had brought out his deities
 “ with him, *Sacra manu victosque deos*. The
 “ interpretation therefore of Donatus is the
 “ only one that deserves attention. He
 “ says that Panthus was retiring to Aeneas,
 “ at whose house he sought both protection
 “ for the city, and a refuge for his gods,
 “ and especially for the principal relick,
 “ the *Palladium*, which it is manifest was
 “ carried into Italy by Aeneas. Panthus
 “ before he met with his death in Troy,
 “ as he followed Aeneas, had deposited it
 “ in the palace of this hero, who carried
 “ it into Italy. This shews what is to be
 “ understood by the word *limina*.” Bur-
 man takes notice of this remark of Catrou,
 and observes, that *limina* can hardly be un-
 derstood to relate to the citadel, which was
 already taken or at least besieged by the
 Grecians; and therefore Panthus, who had
 P 2 just

just made his escape from it with difficulty, could not have any thoughts of returning thither. He is also of opinion that Panthus could not reasonably expect to meet with any safety in the house of Aeneas: for which reason he would prefer *littora*, and understand that as Panthus was endeavouring to make his escape to the *sea coast*, he accidentally met with Aeneas coming out of his house in arms. He adds, that the palace of Aeneas was in a remote part of the city, and not far from the gate which opened toward the sea, as may be gathered from his seeing the Sigeian straits illuminated by the fire, when he was on the top of the building. He uses other arguments also to illustrate this observation. To conclude, he says, that if he was inclinable to admit *limina*, he should understand it to be the same with *limina portae* in ver. 242.

For my own part, I cannot but think that the ancient manuscripts and printed editions are right, and that *limina* is the true reading. To what purpose should Panthus think of running to the coast,
where

where he could not but expect to meet with numbers of Grecians at their ships? But he knew that the palace of Aeneas was in a retired part of the city, and therefore might probably be more safe than any other building. He could not be unacquainted with the prophecies, which had foretold, that Aeneas should be the successor in the kingdom. He must necessarily be well satisfied that this prince was the greatest hero and defender of Troy, since the death of Hector; and besides, that his piety was remarkable, as Venulus is informed by Diomedes, in the eleventh book;

“ Quicquid apud duræ cessatum est moenia

“ Trojae,

“ Hectoris Aeneaeque manu victoria Grai-

“ um

“ Haesit, et in decimum vestigia retulit an-

“ num.

“ Ambo animis, ambo insignes praestanti-

“ bus armis :

“ Hic pietate prior.

*The long defence the Trojan people made;
 The war protracted, and the siege delay'd,
 Were due to Hector's and this hero's hand;
 Both brave alike, and equal in command:
 Aeneas not inferior in the field,
 In pious reverence to the gods excell'd.*

Dryden.

Therefore it seems to me, that Panthus could not think of any refuge for himself and his holy relicks so proper as the palace of this hero, who by these means receives the sacred pledges of the security of his subjects, just before the death of their present king. *Limen* is not confined to signify only the threshold of a common door: but is extended to a magnificent portico or any other entrance of a great palace. Thus in the fifth eclogue it is used for the entrance of heaven itself;

“Candidus insuetum miratur *limen Olympi*,
 “Sub pedibusque videt nubes & sidera
 “Daphnis.”

463. *Qua summa labantes juncturas tabulata dabant.*] This expression has given some trouble

trouble to the commentators. Servius assures us that by *tabulata* are to be understood the several floors or stories of a building: and by *summa tabulata* the uppermost stories, which are immediately under the roof. He therefore supposes, in which he has been followed by many, that it was the upper story only of the tower, that the Trojans subverted. But he afterwards mentions a difficulty, which some have objected; where the Trojans stood, when they overthrew the uppermost story. This is indeed a shrewd objection; and Servius does not endeavour to remove it; and I believe it will not be easy for any one else to give an answer to it. Besides it may be observed, that it was not one story only; but the tower itself that was tumbled down upon the heads of the Grecians; *Ea*, that is *turris*, lapsa, &c.

The learned Ruæus does not seem to have explained this passage with his usual clearness. His interpretation is, “ afterwards we cut it round about, in that part “ where the highest story rendered the “ junctures of the wall more weak;” *Post-*

quam eam, this must mean *turrim*, *circum-*
accidimus ferro, qua parte supremum tabula-
tum reddebat juncturas parietis infirmiores. In
 his note on this passage, he explains it,
 “ where the heads of the beams, which
 “ supported the upper story, being let into
 “ the wall, rendered it weaker, and more
 “ easy to be cut out ;” *Qua trabium, quae*
summum tabulatum sustinebant, capita, parieti
immissa, infirmiore illum reddebant, et ex-
scindi facilem. Marolles renders it “ where the
 “ utmost timbers were joined to the wall ;”
Ayant entrepris d'abatre cette tour avec des
barres de fer, par où les derniers planchers se
joignoient à la muraille. Martignac uses al-
 most the same words ; “ Nous enterprimes
 “ de l'abatre avec des bars de fer, par où
 “ la charpente joignoit aux murs.” Ac-
 cording to Catrou the Trojans subverted the
 whole tower with all its stones ; “ Nous
 “ entreprenons donc de la sapper avec le
 “ fer, d'en ébranler les divers étages déjà
 “ un peu chancelants.” The bishop of
 Dunkel translates *tabulata*, *corbels*, or pieces
 of timber placed in a wall and somewhat
 projecting

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projecting from it, to add strength to the support of a platform;

With instrumentis of iron, we pyke and
set

Round al about, quhare the joyngis war
worne

Keddy to fal, and corbellis all to tozne
The holk and mynd.

Phaer's translation is;

“ ———— that towre with ginnes and
“ mighty bars

“ We underheaved, and where the joynts

“ and timber beams it bound,

“ Beneath together at once we lift :”

and Stanyhurst's;

“ Wee that disjoyncted : from stoans thee

“ timber asunder

“ Wee tearde ; the joyncturs unknot.”

The earl of Lauderdale says no more than,

“ The Beams of this we loose.”

Dryden

Dryden seems to have deviated strangely from the original: for he represents the Trojans hewing the tower in pieces, and throwing down one beam after another.

“ Beams from its lofty height with swords

“ we hew;

“ Then wrenching with our hands, th’as-

“ fault renew.

“ And where the rafters on the columns

“ meet,

“ We push them headlong with our arms

“ and feet.”

“ Most commentators, says Dr. Trapp,

“ take no notice of *summa*, as here apply’d

“ to *tabulata*, and the rest leave it as obscure

“ as they found it. In its first and most

“ usual sense it signifies *uppermost*, or *high*:

“ but that, I presume, is not the meaning

“ of it here; because then only the topmost

“ story would have been thrown down,

“ which does not so well agree with the ruin

“ here described. Sometimes it stands for

“ *deep* or *low*; but never in Virgil: if it

“ did in any other part of his works I

“ should take it so here. But even in him

“ it

“ it frequently signifies the *extremest*, or
 “ most *outward* parts; and so I understand
 “ it in this place. The *outside* planks (to-
 “ wards the bottom, or at least in the
 “ middle, otherwise the ruin could not have
 “ been so great) were disjointed; and they
 “ took the advantage of that to make a
 “ farther and deeper irruption. Thus this
 “ word is used, Book I. l. 741. *summo te-*
 “ *nus attigit ore*, and Book XII. l. 434. *sum-*
 “ *maque per galeam, &c.*” Mr. Pitt has tran-
 “ slated it thus;

“ With steel the yielding timbers we as-
 “ fail’d,
 “ Where loose, the huge disjointed struc-
 “ ture fail’d;
 “ Then tugg’d convulsive from the shat-
 “ ter’d walls
 “ We push the pile.”

It is certain, that *summus* is generally
 used for the *top*, or *highest* part; as *summa*
culmina, *summa Lycaeï*, *summa cacumina*, &c.
 It is also used to express the *utmost* endea-
 vour, as *summis adnexus viribus*, *summa ni-*
tuntur opum vi, *summo certamine*, &c. It also
 signifies

signifies the *greatest*, or *chief part*, or *sum* of any thing, as *quo res summa loco? Haec summa est; summam belli, &c.* But it is also used to signify *very high*, as we have just seen;

“ ————— *Summisque* sub astra
“ *Eductam* tectis.”

Thus also in the ninth book, when Turnus is endeavouring to storm the camp of the Trojans, and force the gate, we read,

“ *Ilioneus* saxo, atque ingenti fragmine
“ *montis*,
“ *Lucetium* portae subeuntem, ignesque fe-
“ *rentem*:
“ *Emathiona*, *Liger*, *Chorinaeum* sternit
“ *Atilas*,
- - - - -
“ *Turnus* *Ityn*, *Cloniumque*, *Dioxippum*,
“ *Promulumque*
“ *Et Sagarim*, et *summis* stantem pro turri-
“ *bus Idam*.”

Here we cannot well understand the poet to mean, that Idas stood before the *top of the towers*;

towers; for *on what* could he then stand? the sense of these words is plainly *before the lofty towers*. Thus also we read in the twelfth book;

“*Fulminat Aeneas armis, summasque mina-*
“*tur*

“*Dejecturum arces Italûm excidioque da-*
“*turum.*”

Here again *summas arces* must be rendered *lofty towers*: for surely Aeneas did not threaten to destroy the *tops* of the Italian towers. Nor can any other sense be given to the following passage in the same book;

“*At pater Aeneas, audito nomine Turni,*
“*Deserit & muros, & summas deserit ar-*
“*ces.*”

Here Aeneas forsakes the *lofty towers* of the Italians, which he was then besieging: for these words cannot possibly mean, that he came down from the *top* of a tower; for it appears a few lines before, that it was wholly in flames;

“*Eccœ*

- "Eecce autem flammis inter tabulata vo-
 "lutus
 "Ad caelum undabat vortex, turrimque
 "tenebat,
 "Turrim compactis trabibus quam edux-
 "erat ipse,
 "Subdideratque rotas, pontesque instrave-
 "rat altos."

I would therefore understand *summa tabulata*,
 in the passage before us, to express, not the
uppermost story, but the *loftiness* of the many
 stories raised one above another. The exces-
 sive height of this tower, added to its pro-
 jecting beyond the perpendicular of the
 building on which it was raised, made it
 more easy to be thrown down. We may
 conceive a platform to have been on the
 top of this part of the palace, in the fram-
 ing of which platform several great pieces
 of timber were laid, with their ends pro-
 jecting beyond the wall; on these timbers,
 others were raised perpendicularly, and thus
 a tower of many stories, one above another
 was formed. That its height was more
 than ordinary, the poet has not omitted to
 tell

tell us. Now in order to subvert this tower, and throw it on the heads of the Grecians, the Trojans make use of iron crows, axes, or perhaps their swords, to loosen the beams, which were the foundation of the tower, and disunite them from the terraced roof. When once the ends of the timbers, which had been let into the platform, were loosened, the height of the tower, and the projection of its base contributed jointly to its being thrown down, with a most horrid destruction.

504. *Barbarico postes auro, &c.*] Guellius and la Cerda have with great learning shown, that the Phrygians were peculiarly called Barbarians. It is certain that the Grecians called all other nations Barbarians; whence it seems a little strange to suppose, that Aeneas should apply that name to his own countrymen. But Guellius has shown that this appellation was far from being esteemed reproachful by the Barbarians themselves; which he proves from several passages in Euripides, where Trojans are introduced calling themselves Barbarians. It might be objected indeed that Euripides,
being

being himself a Grecian, might abusively put this word in the mouth of a Trojan: but this is answered by a quotation from our poet himself, in the eleventh book; where Phrygian and Barbarian seem to be used as synonymous terms;

“ Forte facer Cybele Chloëus, olimque

“ sacerdos,

“ Insignis longe *Phrygiis fulgebat in armis*:

“ Spumantemque agitabat equum, quem

“ pellis ahenis

“ In plumam squamis auro conferta tegebat.

“ Ipse peregrina ferrugine clarus et ostro,

“ Spicula torquebat Lycio Cortynia cornu:

“ Aureus ex humeris sonat arcus, et aurea

“ vati

“ Cassida: tum croceam chlamydemque si-

“ nusque crepantes

“ Carbaseos fulvo in nodum collegerat auro,

“ Pictus acu tunicas et *barbara tegmina*

“ *crurum.*”

La Cerda however thinks, that this expression may be understood to mean *pretiosum*, *eximium*, *precipuum*; because the Asiaticks were

were understood to abound more with gold at that time, than other nations; whence Demosthenes calls the king of Persia *barbarous*, on account of the immense quantity of gold he possessed. In this sense I believe we may understand that passage in the eight *Æneid*.

“ Hinc *ope barbarica* variisq; Antonius armis

“ Victor, ab *Auroræ* populis, et littore rubro,

“ *Ægyptum*, viresq; *Orientis*, et ultima secum

“ *Bactra* vehit;”

where we see, that by *Barbarica ope* are understood the people of or near Asia. In the same sense Barbaric seems also to have been used by Milton, at the beginning of his second book;

“ High on a throne of royal state, which
far

“ Outshone the wealth of *Ormus* and of
Ind,

“ Or where the gorgeous *East* with richest
hand

Q

“ Show’rs

“ Show’rs on her kings *barbaric* pearl and
gold,
“ Satan exalted sat.”

Ruæus thinks it is to be understood in this place of the gold which the Trojans had taken in war from their Asiatic neighbours, especially, as it is joined with *spoliis*.

The ancient custom of adorning palaces, especially the gate-posts and principal entrance with spoils taken from their enemies, is alluded to in the seventh book ; where the poet describes the palace of Latinus ;

“ Multaque præterea sacris in postibus arma,
“ Captivi pendent currus, curvaeque se-
“ cures,

“ Et cristæ capitum, et portarum ingentia
“ claustra,

“ Spiculaque, clypeique, ereptaque rostra
“ carinis.”

*Around the posts hung helmets, darts, and
spears,
And captive chariots, axes, shields, and bars,
And broken beaks of ships, the trophies of
their wars.* } Dryden.
Cicero,

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Cicero in his second Philippick, when he is inveighing against Mark Anthony, who had taken possession of the house of the great Pompey, mentions the beaks of ships, and other spoils, with which the vestibule was adorned; “ An tu illa in vestibulo *rostra* “ & *hostium spolia* cum adspexisti, domum “ tuam &c. introire putas ?

F I N I S.

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